

THE JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

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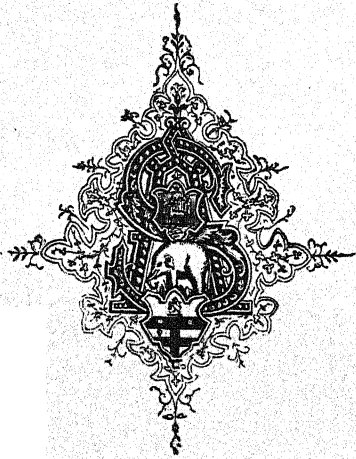
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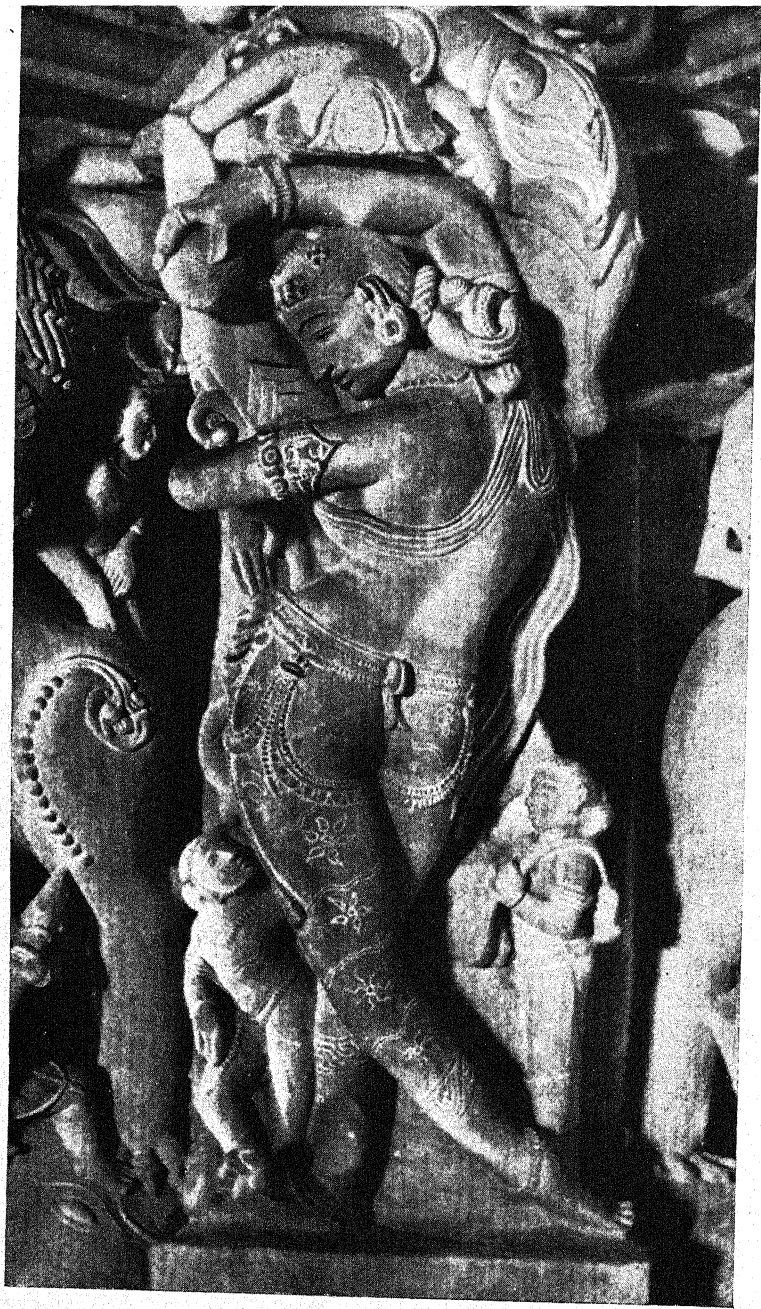
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ŚĀLABHAÑJIKĀ

Bracket figure on the Uccālaka of a pillar in the Maṇḍapa of the Lakṣmaṇa temple ;
A.D. 954 ; Khajuraho.



FLYING DEVAS (VIDYĀDHARAS)
Uppermost belt of images, Duladeo Temple, South-West, Khajuraho.
(Height: below $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft.)

Masterpieces of Oriental Art, 8

By DORA GORDINE (The Hon. Mrs. Richard Hare)

(PLATES I and II)

I

Śālabhaṅḡikā. Bracket figure on the Ucchālaka of a pillar in the Maṇḍapa of the Lakṣmaṇa temple; A.D. 954, Khajuraho.

THE composition of this Yakṣinī or woman-sprite under a flowering vine appears at a first glance to possess dynamic energy, but closer inspection reveals its absence. Stella Kramrisch remarks that, "creamy and luxuriant though the modelling is, it is not shaped throughout by rhythmic energy. The right outline of the figure vacillates and the drawing of the leg is weak." The body is heavy and lifeless, and though carved in relief is so wanting in construction that it looks boneless and flaccid. The figure is squashed and flat instead of being rounded as the curves demand. The arms are too thin for the broad waist and the right arm appears dislocated from the body. The expression of the face and body is cold and reminds one of some of the worst European sculpture.

II

Vidyādhara. Duladeo Temple, Khajuraho.

This flying Deva is a masterpiece, dynamic and alive. It is a perfect example of art in itself though applied to an architectural purpose. The rhythm is never interrupted, flowing in spirals, and along lines straight, horizontal, and perpendicular, so that, though reposeful, static, and serene, the work is full of vitality, vigour, and exuberance. There are parallel lines from elbow to elbow and from knee to knee. At the same time there are diagonals from left knee to left elbow and from the right elbow to the right foot. The point on the hip where the diagonals cross is the central axis and the rounded thigh balancing a head nearly as large in volume knits the whole composition together. The flowing shape of body and limbs is composed on a vital sinuous line, which never ceases to be constructive as every curve ends in the firm and strong contours

of elbow, rib, and knee. The body is expressive of passionate energy in contrast to a face passive and voluptuous with tired eyes and pendulous lip. The drapery plays a vital role, stressing the movement of the figure and lending volume where blank space would not fit the architectural scheme.

The two plates here chosen come from the eighty photographs by Raymond Burnier in Stella Kramrisch's two handsome volumes on the Hindu Temple (Plates XVIII and XXVI) which will be reviewed elsewhere in these columns. Few people have done more than Stella Kramrisch to reveal the beauty of Indian sculpture to Great Britain.

Greeks and Sakas in India

By JOHN MARSHALL

(PLATES III-VIII)

OWING to the exigencies of war I failed to get my copies of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* between 1939 and 1945, and it is only within the last few days that I have seen Dr. Ludwig Bachhofer's most interesting article on "Greeks and Sakas in India" which appeared in the *Journal* as far back as December, 1941. In that article Dr. Bachhofer pays a warm tribute to Dr. W. W. Tarn's epoch-making work on *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, but at the same time challenges some of the views expressed by that great scholar. Though very late in the day I hope I may be allowed to add a few comments on what Dr. Bachhofer has said. I do so with no little hesitation, because failing eye-sight now makes it difficult for me to read or write, and still more difficult to re-examine the numismatic data and other minutiae referred to by Dr. Bachhofer. On the other hand, half a life time spent in excavations at Taxila and other sites on the North-West Frontier of India has put me in possession of many relevant facts, of which it is evident that Dr. Bachhofer is still, through no fault of his own, in ignorance; and it is clearly my duty to make these facts known to others without loss of time. Already, it is true, I have written a full and comprehensive account in three volumes of the results of my long labours at Taxila, but though the manuscript of this book was sent to the Cambridge University Press at the end of 1945, I fear that in prevailing conditions it may be a year or two before it can be published; and in the meantime eminent scholars like Dr. Bachhofer may be spending valuable hours on problems which have in effect already been solved.

Dr. Bachhofer's first concern is with the history of Hellenistic, Parthian, and Gandhāran art in the North-West of India. The earliest actual examples of Greek art in India are to be found, he says, in certain toilet-trays of which I unearthed a considerable number among the ruins of the Sirkap city at Taxila. These stone toilet-trays, or dishes, as he prefers to call them, are said by him to have been found in the Parthian stratum and to be assignable, therefore, to the second and third quarters of the first century A.D.

This is not correct. Out of a total of thirty-three trays from Sirkap, twenty-three only were found in the Late Śaka-Parthian stratum, seven in the Early Śaka stratum, one in the Greek stratum, and three in the surface debris. The single specimen from the Greek level might conceivably be a stray from the Early Śaka level above it, but it is worthy of note that this tray possesses a distinctive character of its own, which, apart from its place of finding, would justify us in assigning it to the Greek rather than the Early Śaka period. This is the tray described and illustrated in my *Annual Report (ASR.)* for 1929-1930, p. 90, No. 93 and Pl. XV, 1. The scene portrayed on it is an erotic one of a type common in Hellenistic art, viz. a countryman in long-sleeved coat in the act of disrobing a woman, who is kneeling beside him.¹ In contrast with nearly all the later trays, in which the face is divided up into two or more registers, the two figures, in this case, occupy the centre of the field and stand out with effective simplicity against the plain background. Moreover, the figures themselves are modelled almost as if they were in the round rather than in relief—a characteristic of much Hellenistic sculpture; and the rendering of their forms, albeit sketchy, is more conscientious than in the later examples. Of the thirty-three trays from Sirkap, fourteen are of grey schist, twelve of micaceous schist, four of steatite (soapstone), two of indurated claystone, two of slate, and one of phyllite. Since both varieties of schist and the phyllite come from the Gandhāra region, we can be sure that at least twenty-seven of these trays, including the earliest one described above, were carved in that region. As to the provenance of the others, there is not the same certainty, but the character of their technique and design, coupled with the presence of Indian details in some of them, leaves little room for doubt that most of them were produced in the same area. The one as to which there is most doubt is the relatively large steatite tray with an elaborate drinking scene, illustrated by me in *ASR.*, 1928-9, Pl. XIX, 1, and reproduced on a smaller scale by Dr. Bachhofer in his Pl. I, fig. 1. In every feature this tray is typical of Græco-Roman work of the first century A.D., and is sharply to be distinguished from contemporary objects of hybrid Greek, Śaka, Parthian, and Indian art produced on Indian soil. It is a reasonable surmise,

¹ For further remarks on this toilet-tray, see my review of Dr. H. Buchthal's British Academy Lecture on "The Western Aspects of Gandhara Sculpture". *JRAS.*, June, 1946, pp. 116-122.

therefore, that this particular tray may have been one of the many small *objets d'art* imported into India from Western Asia or Egypt during the period of Parthian supremacy. On the other hand, it is obviously quite possible that it was made in India itself by some skilled craftsman from the West in Parthian employ. But, wherever this tray may have been carved, it is still essentially a sample of Græco-Roman art, not, as Professor Bachhofer contends, a product of provincial Hellenistic art as developed on Indian soil after the Bactrian-Greek occupation.

Side by side with these trays of typically Greek or Græco-Roman pattern there are others from the same site which display a strikingly different kind of workmanship. In this latter group the subjects of the carvings are generally similar, but the figures are stiff and stilted, the folds of the garments are indicated by a multiplicity of roughly parallel lines, the faces are wooden and expressionless, the hair is contrived to resemble an artificial wig, and the eyes are wide open, round, and staring. On the assumption that all the trays from Sirkap were found in the late Śaka-Parthian city, Professor Bachhofer infers that the specimens belonging to this particular class were the work of Parthian craftsmen, and he goes so far as to say that they "correspond as closely as possible to reliefs found everywhere in Parthian territories". His inference, however, is obviously open to question; for if, as is certain, some of these trays date from the second half of the first century B.C., and if, as Bachhofer would have us believe, the Parthians did not establish themselves at Taxila until a generation and more later, it is difficult to see how the trays came to be made by Parthian stone-carvers. The Śakas, of course, had long been in close contact with the Parthians and must inevitably have absorbed some measure of their material culture, just as they absorbed the culture of their Greek predecessors in the North-West. It is quite possible, therefore, that these trays were the handiwork of Śaka craftsmen familiar with the arts and technical methods of the Parthians. Nor must we ignore the possibility that there was an influx of Parthians in the North-West during the reign of the Parthian Vonones, which, as we shall presently see, began about 53 B.C. or a little later, though Bachhofer himself would place it two generations later. For the moment, however, it is enough to observe that, with one or two possible exceptions, these toilet-trays were a product of Gandhāra, and along with the sculptures described below are

the earliest examples we possess of the art of the Gandhāra School.

Speaking of the Gandhāra School, Professor Bachhofer says that no sculptures belonging to it were found in Sirkap, and he concludes from this that the School had probably not come into existence in the middle of the first century A.D. But here, again, he is wrong on his facts ; for, apart from the trays discussed above, Sirkap has yielded a group of early Gandhāra sculptures which throw a new and most illuminating light on the beginnings of that School. Like most of the toilet-trays, these sculptures are carved out of schist, but it is a particular kind of chloritized micaceous schist which is readily distinguished from other varieties, and evidently came from some quarry west of the Indus from which the early sculptors of Gandhāra obtained their stone before the introduction of phyllite. Chloritized micaceous schist as well as some other varieties, such as quartz schist (with pseudomorphs of pyrites), chloritized hornblende schist and the like, were, it is true, occasionally employed by later sculptors of this School in the second and third centuries A.D., but examples of such stones are rare, and so far as the particular variety of chloritized micaceous schist of which I am speaking is concerned, it is safe to say that it was chiefly used when the School was in its infancy, and subsequently given up in favour of phyllite, either because the latter stone lent itself better to carving or because the particular quarry which supplied it was more accessible.

In contrast with the generality of sculptures from Gandhāra the members of this early group from Sirkap are in the round or at any rate free-standing instead of in relief, and are all distinguished by their relatively crude modelling. As mere verbal descriptions of them would be of little value, I append photos (the only ones that I now have by me) of the principal pieces. One of the earliest among them is the Caryatid-like figure reproduced in Fig. 1, which dates from the first century B.C. The pose is rigidly frontal, with feet front, legs together, and hands on hips. Save for ornaments (anklets, girdle, crossed breast-chain, armlets, and bangles), the figure is nude. The hair, which is treated like a wig in front, is taken back from the forehead and falls in a long double plait down the back, with a few curls on each shoulder. On the top of the head is a low polos, and beneath the small base projecting tenon, evidently intended to fit into a socket hole.

The stiff frontal pose must not, in this case, be taken as proof of a specially early date. In all probability the sculptor was portraying an archaic type of deity, such as that of the Mother or Earth goddess, which there is plenty of evidence to show was still being perpetuated at Taxila as late as the first century A.D. In the formality of the facial features, the wig-like treatment of the hair, and the wide-open prominent eyes, this statuette shows a close resemblance to the reliefs on some of the contemporary toilet-trays, e.g. the one illustrated on Pl. XV, fig. 2, of my *Report (ASR.)* for 1929-1930. I am particularly sorry that I have no spare photo of this tray to include among my illustrations, because the resemblance in the treatment of eyes and hair is such as to preclude any doubt that the tray was produced in the same Gandhāra School as the statuette.

The next statuette (Fig. 2) has the same wide-open staring eyes, the same double plait of hair down the back and small curls on the shoulders; but, in front, the hair is taken back from the forehead and coiled over in less formal fashion. The modelling of the torso, too, is less rigid and formal. Save for a narrow *taenia* across the forehead and a hip girdle (*mekhala*) with square clasp in front and three strings of beads, the figure wears the same ornaments as the preceding one. Her only garment is a shawl or *sārī*, which falls over her left arm and below the hips. As in the reliefs on the toilet-trays, the folds of this garment are indicated merely by incised lines. The type of this statuette appears to be derived from a Greek Aphrodite type, but it is much Indianized. Possibly it is intended to represent an Indian Yakshī or fairy, but it seems more likely to be the "Lady of the Lotus", who is portrayed on certain autonomous coins of Taxila as well as on coins of Azes I, and may represent either the Tyche of the city or, more probably, Māyā (*B.M. Cat. of Anc. Ind. Coins*, Pl. XXXII, 5 and 6, and *Cunn., Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, Pl. VI, 13).

Fig. 3 is one of several bracket figures which in all probability served to adorn the dome of a stupa a little above the top of the plinth, as illustrated, for example, in Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, tome i, p. 59, fig. 12. A number of such brackets have also been found at the Dharmarājikā Stūpa. In this instance the bracket takes the form of a winged male figure with hands in front of breast holding some object too mutilated to be identified. The figure wears bangles, necklaces, and a shawl, which is drawn across the back and through the arms, leaving the front of the body bare.

On the head is a broad tasselled bandeau. The eyes are round and prominent, as in other sculptures of this early period; the folds of the shawl are delineated in the same perfunctory manner; and the modelling of the limbs is noticeably coarse and heavy.

The following figure, No. 4, which is in semi-relief, has its head missing, but we observe the same heavy, uncouth modelling of the limbs, the same arrangement of the shawl leaving the front of the body nude, the same sketchy treatment of its folds, and the same disposition of the hands holding some object in front of the breast.

Fig. 5, which is of the same type and from which the head is also missing, is of interest because of the bird (? hoopoe) held in the hands, and because the workmanship is even rougher than in Figs. 3 and 4. Indeed, the crude cutting of the arms and the clumsiness of the neck make one wonder if the craftsman had ever handled a chisel before.

In its general conception Fig. 6 marks a decided advance. This is a volute bracket in the form of a winged male figure springing at the hips from an acanthus base. The figure wears a sleeved tunic, shawl, Indian turban, and cylindrical ear-ornaments of Indian design. His two hands are raised in adoration in front of the breast. The design of the bracket is admirable and, with its half Greek, half Indian features, thoroughly characteristic of the Gandhāra School. But the workmanship is still crude and unskilful; the folds of the drapery and the turban show little or no improvement on the preceding examples; and the hands are almost devoid of modelling. On stylistic grounds, coupled with the place of finding, this piece may be assigned to the second quarter of the first century A.D.; and this date is borne out by a Kharoshthi inscription cut on the back and tenon, the lettering of which resembles that on some of the silver vessels from Sirkap. The inscription reads: *Savatrataṇa niyatito vihare matapitu puyae Devadato*—"Presented by Sarvatrata in the vihāra, in honour of his mother and father, Devadatta" (CII., ii, 99-100).

In the seated, herm-like bracket figure, No. 7, the workmanship is somewhat better, though the drapery shows the same unsteady chiselling. The figure is wearing a shawl over both shoulders, necklace, and heavy Indian ear-rings. The right hand is raised, holding a bowl. The eyes are round and prominent; the hair wig-like, but not quite so formal as in some of the earlier pieces. The succeeding figure, No. 8, which resembles a grotesque Kubera,

seems to have served as a fountain head. The figure wears a short beard and moustache, and a bracelet on his right wrist; there are holes in mouth, ears, navel, and top of head for the discharge of water.

Another interesting piece, not illustrated here, is a small head in high relief, which came from Stratum III in Block C of Sirkap. It is quite a curiosity because, in place of hair, the face is framed in a wig-like head-dress of lotus leaves, which naturally suggest that it and a similar head from the Dharmarājikā Stūpa may be perhaps among the earliest representations of the Buddha known to us.

All the above sculptures are carved from the same variety of chloritized micaceous schist—a variety that is readily distinguished by its greenish-grey tint. Another kind of stone used by the early sculptors of Gandhāra is a pale grey micaceous, but not chloritized, schist. Sirkap yielded two notable specimens made of this stone. One of these is the relief reproduced in Pl. VII, fig. 12.¹ The scene depicted is unique and has not yet been identified. At the back is a line of five anchorites. The one on the right is headless; the others have long twisted locks falling on either side of the head. Two are young and beardless, the third has a beard and moustache, the fourth a moustache only. Three wear spotted skins over the left shoulder. All have the right hand raised towards the shoulder, and the one on the left carries a flask in his left hand. They are watching the progress of another young anchorite, as he is borne along, suspended head downwards, on a long pole carried on the shoulders of two companions. The pole-bearer on the right is clad in a short skirt; the one on the left is defaced. The suspended figure grasps the pole with his two hands, with his knees around the pole and feet raised aloft. Behind the right pole-bearer are traces of another figure. Anyone familiar with the art of the Early Indian School will recognize at once the extent of its influence in the production of this panel, not only in the composition as a whole and the schematic arrangement of the figures, but also in their individual treatment and the characteristically Indian details. At the same time he will not fail to mark the wide-open staring eyes and immature workmanship that link this interesting relief with other members of the early Gandhāra group.

¹ The descriptions of this and the following pieces are taken in the main from Mr. Hargreaves' catalogue of the Gandhāra sculptures from Taxila, which he was kind enough to contribute to my forthcoming book.

The other sculpture of grey micaceous schist from Sirkap is reproduced in my *Report* for 1928, Pl. XIX, 2. It is a small standing female figure in the round, clad in a sleeved tunic reaching to the feet and a cloak which appears to be held in place by shoulder straps passing in front of the shoulders and attached perhaps to the belt. The hands, raised in front of the waist, support a tray full of flowers or other offerings. The ornaments comprise necklace, crossed breast-chain, anklets, bangles, and girdle (*mekhala*). The head, which was made in a separate piece and joined to the body by a tenon and socket, is missing, but there are two long plaits of hair falling over the cloak at the back. This statuette is of more slender proportions than the others described above, but in other respects generally similar to them and evidently of the same age.

Besides these Gandhāra sculptures from Sirkap there are two mutilated pieces from the Dharmarājikā which also deserve notice, since they clearly belong to the same early group. They are illustrated on Pls. VIII & VII, figs. 13 and 14. Both are of grey micaceous schist. The former is a standing female figure clad in a close-fitting knitted (?) tunic and a shawl falling from the left shoulder to the right side. Round her neck is a bead necklace of several strings held together in two places by spherical bosses. In her left hand she holds a spouted Indian water-pot. Probably she was one of Māyā's attendants in a relief of the Nativity scene (cf. for example, Foucher, *AG-BG.*, fig. 152). Apart from the material of which it is made, the early date of this piece is indicated by the sketchy treatment of the drapery and the clumsy, unsteady chiselling, particularly of the hand. It should be noticed, however, that the modelling of the torso beneath the tunic is greatly improved.

The other statuette (Fig. 14) is presumably a Bodhisattva. He is standing erect on a lotus and holding another lotus in his left hand, while the right hand rests on the hip. He is clad in a dhoti and a scarf, which passes over the left shoulder and round the right thigh, leaving the chest and right arm bare. For ornaments he wears a collar and heavy bangles. The treatment of the falling dhoti folds reminds one of the acanthus leaf decoration on the small early stūpa in Block E of Sirkap, dating from the first century B.C. The strongly developed arms and legs are paralleled in Figs. 9 and 10, discussed below. The head of the statuette is missing.

The two figures, Nos. 9 and 10, are not products of the Gandhāra School. Both are carved out of the grey Tarakī sandstone

which is found in the neighbourhood of Taxila. I have included them here because they give some idea of the sort of indigenous sculpture which Taxila was turning out when the Gandhāra School on the other side of the Indus was in its infancy. Taxila had the misfortune not to possess any fine-grained stone suitable for small images and reliefs. The best available was this coarse-grained Tarakī sandstone, which defied the carving of minute details. It is this coarseness of the material that is no doubt largely responsible for the broad heavy masses in which the sculptors have shaped these two images. The first of the two, which comes from Sirkap, is a cult statue of a standing male deity. He is wearing a tunic tied by a cord at the waist and reaching to the knees, a long shawl or *himation* twisted round the arms, high boots, and necklace. The outstretched right forearm, which was attached by a tenon and socket, is missing; and the face is mutilated. The hair has the same wig-like appearance as in Fig. 1 and on contemporary toilet-trays. The high boots suggest that the image may represent the Sun God, whose temple is said by Philostratus (*Vit. Apoll.*, ii, 24) to have stood in the city of Sirkap. But the statue bears a striking resemblance, particularly in its drapery, to the deity portrayed on the reverse of certain coins of Azes (cf. *BMC.*, xix, 1; *PMC.*, xi, 195). Because of the caduceus he holds in his hand, that deity has usually been identified as Hermes, but it is not unlikely that he represents the Fire god, Pharro, a well known figure on coins of Kanishka and Huvishka and sometimes portrayed holding the caduceus and even the purse of Hermes (*B.M. Cat.*, p. lxiv). On the coins, Pharro is shown wearing the same high boots as the Sun god, and in other respects is very similar to him. It would not be surprising, therefore, if the two deities were sometimes confused.

As a work of art Fig. 10 is much the more attractive of the two. It portrays a male figure wearing a *dhoti*, shawl, bracelets, and necklace. The right hand is raised in front of the breast with the fingers in what is known as the *chinmudrā* or *jñānamudrā*, indicative of meditation, knowledge, and purity—a *mudrā* particularly associated with famous teachers. The left hand rests on the hip. The head and feet are missing. As this image was found at the Dharmarājikā there can be little question that it is Buddhist, and it is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that we may have in it a representation of the Great Teacher himself at a time when his

familiar types had not yet been evolved. Although the figure is unduly massive, there is a stylishness about the formal arrangement of the draperies, a sensitiveness in the modelling of the upraised fingers, and a precision in the carving that cannot fail to command attention. There is nothing here of the tentative, uncertain workmanship visible in the nascent sculpture of Gandhāra. The sculptor of this image knew precisely what he wanted, and he knew the traditional methods of his school by which he could attain it. His work may be highly conventionalized, but it is clear cut and dexterous, and possesses a simplicity and purposefulness not unworthy of what is, perhaps, the oldest image of the Bodhisattva known to us. Its date, like that of the preceding image, seems to have fallen in the late Śaka period.

To return, however, to the art of Gandhāra. Small as it is, this group of sculptures leaves us in no doubt that the Gandhāra School had begun to take shape in the latter part of the first century B.C., and was still in an immature state when the Śaka rule was replaced by the Parthian. None of the sculptures can, I think, be assigned to a date much before 30 B.C., and none to a date much after A.D. 40. Apart from the evidence of their find-spots, these dates are deducible from the sculptures themselves; for, on the one hand, we must allow some decades at least after the eclipse of Greek rule in Gandhāra for the practice of Greek art to have been largely forgotten; on the other, we must allow some decades after the latest members of this group were produced for Gandhāra art to reach its maturity, as it appears to have done by the closing decades of the first century A.D. We are thus forced to the conclusion that the School of Gandhāra was not the immediate offspring of Greek art in India, but that it arose during the Śaka period, when Greek art was becoming increasingly decadent.

That Gandhāra art was greatly inspired and helped along its course by monuments then still existing of the former Greek conquerors and by the many *objets d'art* from the Western world which the Parthians subsequently imported, we do not doubt; nor do we doubt that it was equally inspired by the contemporary work of the Early Indian School, which was then at its zenith. Indeed, to judge by these recently discovered sculptures from Sirkap, it would seem that the ateliers of Gandhāra owed more at this early stage to India than to Greece. But it cannot be too strongly insisted on that the movement which produced this important School of

Buddhist art and spread its influence to the furthest confines of the East, arose and developed on the soil of Gandhāra itself, and can no more be treated as an offshoot of Indian than it can be treated as an offshoot of Hellenistic art. The Gandhāra School took much from foreign sources, but what it took it made its own, shaping it afresh to its own purposes and reissuing it to the world with a new hall-mark and a new meaning. It is this that constitutes the essential difference between the art of Gandhāra (soon to become the most truly ecclesiastic art of Buddhism), and the purely Western art exemplified in such pieces as the toilet-tray illustrated in Bachhofer's Plate I, fig. 1, or the silver head of Dionysus or the copper statuette of Harpocrates or the very third-rate image of Demeter illustrated in Fig. 11. Such articles were freely imported under the Parthian regime, and copies of them were made in India. No doubt, too, they played a not unimportant part in the evolution of Gandhāran art, but they were essentially a foreign product and, until transmuted by the hand of the Gandhāran artist, of little real significance for the story of Buddhist art.

With so many models of Hellenistic and Indian art to guide them, the sculptors of Gandhāra were not long in surmounting the initial difficulties of technique and composition. This, perhaps, may help to explain why, despite the prolific output of this School, we have so far succeeded in finding so few examples of its early efforts, and why there still remains a gap to be filled between these early examples and the fully matured sculptures hitherto known to us. I have little doubt, however, that if a search were to be made among existing collections of these sculptures, it would reveal a small number at least belonging to this transitional period. The kind of sculpture to be looked for is exemplified in Fig. 15. This is a draped female figure of pale micaceous schist—a stone in use at this period. Presumably it is a copy of a Greek Nike type, and the sculptor has been signally successful in his handling of the drapery, which falls in soft clinging folds, revealing the contours of the form beneath. But the bare left leg, with its startlingly muscular proportions and heavy anklet, leave one in no doubt about his natural Indian proclivities. At the same time they demonstrate how remarkably adept an Indian could be in imitating a Greek prototype of a far from simple kind. Another feature of this statuette that deserves notice is that, while the lower half of it is in alto-relievo, the upper half is virtually in the round, though

the back is not worked. This, too, is a feature that we might naturally expect to find during this transitional period, when free-standing figures were largely giving place to the familiar relief work of later Gandhāra art. To a somewhat later period than this Nike figure we must ascribe the standing female statue found at Mathurā, which is illustrated in Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, vol. ii, pl. 151a. It dates from the early part of the period when Greek and Indian elements were no longer struggling one against the other, but were being blended together into the composite whole which constitutes the true mature art of Gandhāra.¹

In connection with the evolution of the Buddha image, Bachhofer rightly challenges Tarn's contention that the Buddha is represented on a copper coin of the Śaka king Maues. In my own view, the evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of the figure on the coin being that of the king himself, who is seated cross-legged on a cushion holding a short sword, half unsheathed across his knees, the scabbard grasped in his left hand, as in similar coins of his successor, Azes I, and the hilt in his right, while the thin blade passes in front of the body.² On the other hand, I cannot agree with Bachhofer in his dating of the Bimarān casket. Whether the coins found with the casket be those of Azes I or Azes II is not of any great moment. In the light of what we now know about the beginnings of Gandhāra art, it is out of the question to assign this casket to the first quarter of the first century A.D. The embossed reliefs are work of the second century A.D., and cannot be put earlier. Evidently this is a case of re-burial of relics, of which I have come across not a few examples in the course of my excavations on Buddhist sites. The coins belonged to the original stūpa, and were sedulously preserved, when the relics were transferred to a new and more important edifice, and enshrined in a more sumptuous casket. Up to the present we have found no image of the Buddha in a traditional pose which can be dated as early as the reign of Azes II,

¹ A good illustration of the struggle that went on between Hellenistic and Indian art before they were successfully blended together in the ateliers of Gandhāra, is afforded by the contemporary stucco figures from the Great Apsidal Temple in Sirkap dating, roughly, from the middle of the first century A.D. Two of these are reproduced in Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, pl. 141: the one on the left, a turbaned Indian head of the Bodhisattva, the other a purely Hellenistic head of a Satyr.

² See the coin of Azes I figured in the *B.M. Cat.*, Pl. XIX, 1, where the thin blade is clearly visible in front of the emperor's body.

let alone an image in the highly developed style portrayed on this casket. Fig. 10 may, as I have suggested, conceivably be an image of the Bodhisattva and date from a substantially earlier date than the reign of Azes II, but at the best this is problematical, and apart from this statue there is no Buddha or Bodhisattva that we can refer for certain to an earlier period than the second quarter of the first century A.D. And even those images are still in an embryonic stage.

Passing on to the more mature period of Gandhāra art, when phyllite had come into general use for sculpture, Professor Bachhofer invites particular attention to the sculptures from two buildings at Taxila, viz. Chapel L at the Dharmarājikā and Chapel A-1 at Kālawān. Both these chapels were constructed of diaper masonry, and there can be no question that they were approximately contemporary with one another, their date being determined by a Kharoshthī inscription in the foundation deposit of the Kālawān chapel written in the year 134 of Azes = A.D. 76. Taking this date as his starting-point Professor Bachhofer has assumed that the sculptures unearthed among the ruins of these two buildings are referable to the last quarter of the first century A.D. This was the view which I myself took, when I first excavated Chapel L in 1912. At that time I supposed that the sculptures had formed an integral part of the building's original scheme of decoration, as many sculptures on other sites are known to have done. Later, however, it became abundantly clear that these sculptures were no more than a heterogeneous collection of votive offerings of widely different age and character, which had presumably been purchased in the ateliers of Gandhāra by pilgrims from beyond the Indus and dedicated from time to time by them at the Dharmarājikā. That the sculptures should have been kept together in one chapel rather than scattered about among the buildings was natural enough, since it would certainly not have contributed to the appearance of the *saṅghārāma* to have a medley of these reliefs lying here and there among the sacred edifices or even inset in their plaster walls. But though the Chapel L was used for housing them, there is no evidence to show that it was originally designed for that purpose or that any of the offerings were placed there immediately after its erection. All that can be said for certain is that the chapel itself was built in the latter part of the first century A.D., and that the offerings (some of which were older than the chapel) may have been

deposited there at any subsequent date up to the time of its destruction. The earliest of the offerings is a terracotta head closely akin in style to some of the stucco heads from the Apsidal Temple in Sirkap, and referable to a date not much later than the middle of the first century A.D. The Gandhāra sculptures themselves seem to belong mainly to the second century, but a few among them may date from the second half of the first century and some from the third century A.D. Among them are four pieces bearing votive inscriptions in Kharoshthī, which bear out the conclusions stated above; for, on the one hand, they show that these sculptures were the gifts of different donors to the Dharmarājikā; on the other, the style of script employed indicates, according to Konow—the highest authority on the subject—that they were dedicated at a date substantially later than the silver scroll inscription of the year 136 of Azes = A.D. 78.

All that I have said above applies equally to the similar but smaller group of sculptures which I found in Chapel A-1 at Kālāwān, though in that collection there was nothing that can be ascribed to as early a date as the middle of the first century A.D. It is obvious, therefore, that neither of these chapels can possibly be used as evidence for the date of the sculptures which they once housed.

One other point before leaving the subject of Gandhāra art. Professor Bachhofer still writes of this School of Art as if it continued in being until the invasion of the White Huns in the late fifth century. It is time, I suggest, for greater precision in regard to its history. As we have seen, the School came into existence shortly before the beginning of the Christian era, but it did not reach maturity until after the advent of the Kushāns in the second half of the first century A.D. It was at its zenith in the second century; declined a little in the reign of Vāsudeva, and came to an abrupt end with his death and the eclipse of the Kushān empire in India—an event which seems to have been precipitated by the invasion of Ardashīr-i-Bābegān (A.D. 226-240). With the exception of a few mutilated stucco figures, all the products of this School that have survived are sculptures of stone, and none of these sculptures can be ascribed to a later date than the middle of the third century. From that time onwards the prosperity of the Panjāb and North-West rapidly waned, Buddhism was deprived of the influential support extended to it by the early Kushān

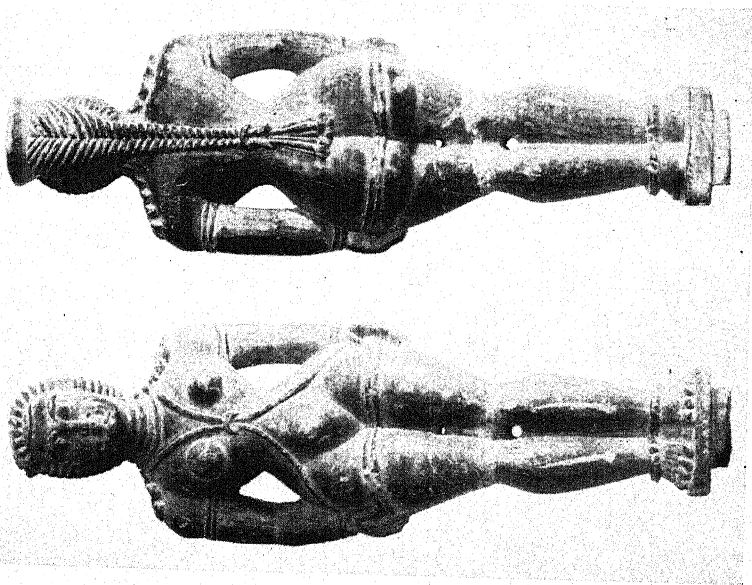


FIG. 1 (a) and (b). Standing female figure of chloritized micaceous schist. Ht. 7.25 in. Sk. 1929-1206. From Sirkap, Block A'; Sq. 18.93; Stratum III.

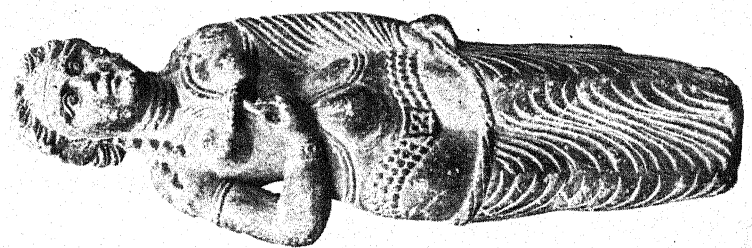
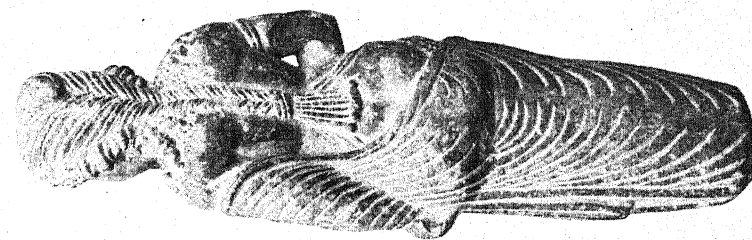


FIG. 2 (a) and (b). Standing female figure of chloritized micaceous schist. Ht. 9 in. Sk. 1919-910. From Sirkap, Block D'; Sq. 58.116; Stratum II. Found in company with a large collection of copper dies for metal-work.



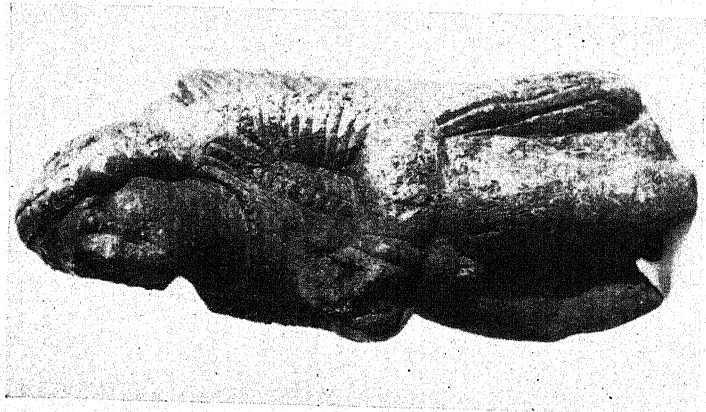


FIG. 3. Bracket of chloritized micaceous schist in the form of a winged male figure. Ht. 4.75 in. Such brackets were commonly used to adorn the domes of stupas near their base. Sk. 1927-83. From Block E'3; Sq. 75.93'; Stratum I.



FIG. 4. Winged male figure in semi-relief, of chloritized micaceous schist. Ht. 4.75 in. Sk. 1914-164. From Block D'; Sq. 60.77'. Stratum I.

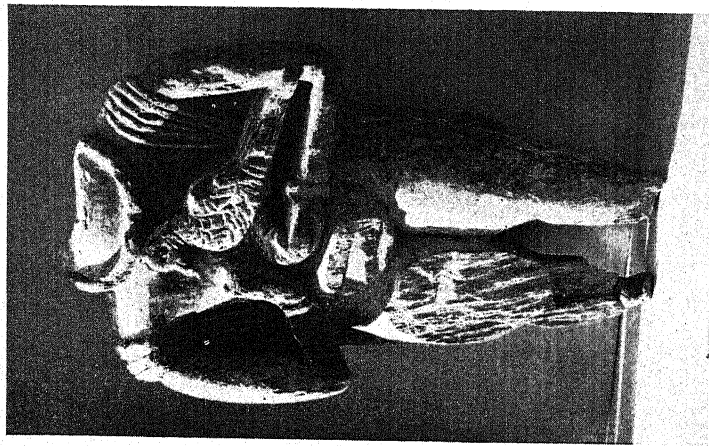


FIG. 5. Standing male figure of chloritized micaceous schist. Ht. 7.37 in. Although in the round, the back is flat and unmodelled. Sk. 1924-481. From Block B; Sq. 37.44'; Stratum II.

emperors, and for the next 140 years or thereabouts Buddhist art in this part of India ceased virtually to exist. It was not until the last quarter of the fourth century that the advent of the Kidāra Kushāns from Bactria put an end to Sasanid rule, which had been imposed on Gandhāra and the Panjāb by the victories of Shāpur II, and re-established conditions in which Buddhist art could again flourish. A new School then came into being, which may conveniently be designated the "Indo-Afghān School". Of the history and character of this Indo-Afghān School, I may be permitted to repeat what I have said elsewhere. "This later School survived until the third quarter of the fifth century, when the White Huns swept down through the North-West, destroying every Buddhist monument in their path and finally obliterating the power and culture of the Later Kushāns. But in that short space of time the Indo-Afghān School produced a prodigious array of plastic art. Like the Gandhāra School before it, it was born of the soil of the North-West, and naturally inherited much from its predecessor. But there were radical differences between them. Whereas the earlier sculptors had employed stone as their principal medium, the later employed clay and stucco, and thanks to the plasticity of these materials they attained a command of form and a vitality of expression which are lacking in the more academic work of the older School. Inevitably there was a danger of inferior workmanship owing to the ease with which the softer substances could be fashioned by hand or cast in moulds, and it is not surprising, therefore, to find many of the clay or stucco sculptures disfigured by mechanical repetition or carelessness. At its best, however, the work of the Indo-Afghān School is far in advance of anything of which the older sculptors of Gandhāra were capable.

"A second notable point of difference between the two Schools is that, whereas the Gandhāra School followed the precedent set by the Early Indian Schools of drawing on the Jātakas and Life Story of the Buddha for its subjects, in the Indo-Afghān School these pictorial panels were almost entirely replaced by Buddha, Bodhisattva, and attendant images. A third point is that, whereas the Gandhāra School was confined to the Peshawar Valley and adjacent country west of the Indus, its successor flourished over a much larger area, including part of the Panjāb east of the Indus."

Much more might be added about the fundamental differences between these two Schools, but I have said enough, I think, to

emphasize the importance of treating them henceforth as separate growths and not confusing their products.

The second part of Professor Bachhofer's article is devoted to the evidence furnished by certain coins for the dates of some of the Śaka and Parthian rulers, notably Vonones, Spalyris, Śpalagadames, and Śpalirises. According to Dr. Tarn, whose reconstruction of the events of this period is based on the story of W'ou-ti-lao and his son in the Ch'ien-han-shu, Spalyris, his son Śpalagadames, and Śpalirises were Śaka (Parsii) rulers of Arachosia under the suzerainty of the Parthian Suren Vonones, who some years after Maues' death—probably in 53–52 B.C.—took the title of “great king of kings”. In Tarn's view, the title “brother of the king” used on their coins does not imply that Spalyris and Śpalirises were actual blood brothers of the Parthian Vonones. It was merely a title of honour long familiar at the Hellenistic courts and from them, no doubt, adopted by the Parthians. In 49 B.C. or thereabouts Śpalagadames, the son of Spalyris, was killed by Hermæus with the help of a Yueh-chi chief, and was succeeded by Śpalirises, who overthrew Hermæus (c. 30 B.C.), annexed Kāpiśī, and took the title “king of kings”, which he conferred at the same time on his son Azes I.

A different view of the events of this period is advanced by Rapson in the *Cambridge History of India*. He takes Azes, the son of Śpalirises, to be Azes II, not Azes I; he holds that Spalyris and Śpalagadames were actual brothers of Vonones, and he infers accordingly that the latter began to reign about 30 B.C. Azes I and Azilises he places before, instead of after, the Arachosian group of rulers, and accepts 58 B.C. as the date when Azes I came to the throne.

To Rapson's scheme various cogent objections have been raised by Tarn, which I shall not repeat here. But there is one insuperable objection, as it seems to me, which has not yet been noticed. It concerns the series of coins struck by these rulers in the Arachosian mint, viz. Vonones with Śpalahores, Vonones with Śpalagadames, Śpalirises with Azes, Azes alone, and Azilises. These coins form a very small, very distinctive, and closely connected group. The most noteworthy type is that found on the round silver issues. On the obverse is the king on horseback with couched spear and Greek legend; on the reverse, the figure of Zeus radiate standing

to front, leaning on a long sceptre held in left hand and holding a thunderbolt in his right hand.¹ The figure of Zeus is peculiar and unlike that on any other coins of the Greeks or Śakas. It is copied from coins of Heliocles, but the drawing is inferior. The bearded head of the god is bent sideways and downwards and pressed into the shoulder, and the left elbow is bent at a sharper angle than on coins of Heliocles. The Kharoshthī legends around the reverse are also distinctive; for the lettering in every case is strikingly clumsy and irregular, and evidently the work of an engraver unaccustomed to the Kharoshthī alphabet, doubtless because Kharoshthī was little used in Arachosia. Now, the strange-looking figures of Zeus described above, which must almost certainly be the work of one engraver, are found only on coins bearing the names of Vonones and Śpalahores, Vonones and Śpalagadames, Śpalirises, Śpalirises and Azes, and Azes alone.² Had Rapson's series of rulers been correct, it is obvious that the same Zeus figure ought to have been found on issues of Azilises, from which it is entirely absent. On the other hand, Tarn's sequence of rulers accords perfectly with this numismatic evidence if, as may be presumed, the engraver ceased to work some time in the reign of Azes I.

The copper issues of the Arachosian rulers tell the same tale. With three exceptions noticed in the footnote,³ they fall into two groups: those of Vonones with Śpalahores and Śpalagadames in one; those of Śpalahores with Śpalagadames, Azes and Azilises in another. The former exhibit the type: *Obv.*: Heracles to front, crowning himself with right hand and holding club and lion skin in left; *Rev.*: Athene standing to left with shield and spear.⁴ The figures of Heracles and Athene on these coins are comparatively well drawn, noticeably better than the Zeus figures on the silver issues. The other group shows a quite different type, viz. *Obv.*: King on horseback in beaded square; *Rev.*: Naked Heracles seated on rock, diademed and supporting club on knee.⁵ In all the coins of this second group the execution is noticeably poor, the seated

¹ Cunm., *Coins of the Indo-Scythians, Sakas, and Kushans*, Pl. IV, Nos. 1-4, 9, 11, 12; Pl. V, Nos. 4 and 4a; *B.M. Cat.*, Pl. XXI, Nos. 7, 8, 10; Pl. XXII, Nos. 1 and 3; Pl. XVII, Nos. 9 and 10.

² Rapson himself attributes these coins to Azes I, not Azes II.

³ Cunm., op. cit., Pl. IV, 8, 10, and 13.

⁴ Cunm., op. cit., Pl. IV, 3 and 6; *B.M. Cat.*, XXI, 9 and 11.

⁵ Cunm., op. cit., Pl. IV, 7; VI, 6; VIII, 3 and 3a; *B.M. Cat.*, XXI, 11 and 12.

figure of Heracles, which was copied from an excellent prototype on coins of Euthydemus I, being in every case sketchy and weak, and the Kharoshthī lettering marred by the same clumsy handling as on the silver pieces. Each of these two groups forms an entity in itself, and the question presents itself, which of the two is the earlier. If, as Rapson contended, Azes I and Azilises preceded Śpalahores and Śpalagadames, we should have the curious anomaly of Azes I and Azilises introducing the inferior type of the Seated Heracles, of Vonones with Śpalahores and Śpalagadames substituting the superior type of the Standing Heracles and Athene, and of Śpalahores and Śpalagadames reverting to the other type again—a quite inexplicable procedure. On the other hand, if Tarn is right in holding that Azes I and Azilises came after the others, then the sequence is perfectly logical: Vonones with Śpalahores and Śpalagadames use one type; Śpalahores with Śpalagadames introduces another, and this second type is then carried on by Azes I and Azilises.

In my view, therefore, there can be no question that the sequence of these kings postulated by Tarn is the right one, though I venture to differ from him on a few minor points. Thus, in regard to the date of Maues' death, Tarn seeks to show that the commonly accepted date for that event is definitely established by the testimony of the Jaina *Kālakācharyakathānaka*. He assumes that the only person who could have achieved the conquest of Ujjayinī in 62-61 B.C., was Maues, and he concludes that the reconquest of that city by Vikramaditya four years later followed on the death of Maues. This assumption appears to me in direct opposition to the Jaina account in the *Kālakācharyakathānaka*, which states specifically that Ujjayinī was attacked and overcome by certain feudatory Shāhis of the Śaka king (Maues), who were in disgrace with their overlord and acting presumably in defiance of him. After making Gardabilla, king of Ujjayinī, prisoner, these Shāhis proceeded to elect one of their own number as *rāyādirāya*, that is, supreme overlord, not, be it noted, as *kshatrapa* or *mahākshatrapa*, which they would have done, if they had recognized Maues as their suzerain. If we accept the Jaina story at all—and there seem to be no grounds for rejecting it—we cannot surely ignore these essential parts of it.

With this point, however, disposed of, the case for putting Maues' death in 58 B.C. falls to the ground. For, granted that



FIG. 6. Volute bracket of pale chloritized micaceous schist in the form of a winged male figure springing from an acanthus leaf base. Length 6.62 in. On back and tenon of bracket is a Kharoshthi inscription. Sk. 1926-1457. From Block J; Sq. 148-51'; Stratum II.

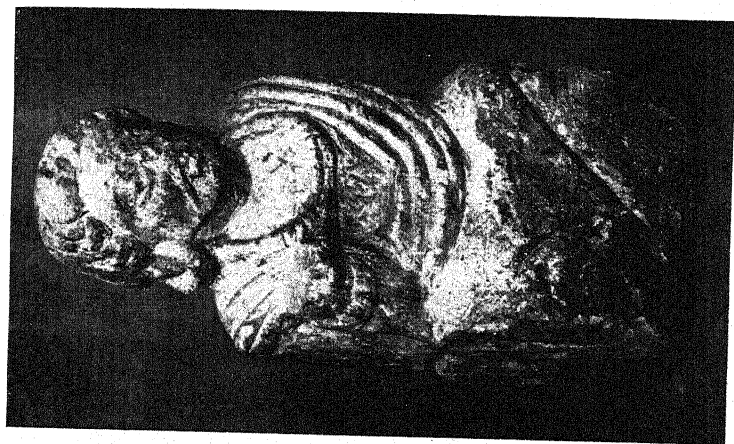


FIG. 7. Bracket of chloritized micaceous schist in form of seated herm-like male figure. Ht. 4.62 in. Sk. 1916-1160. From Block C; Sq. 42.63'; Stratum II.



FIG. 8. Fountain-head of chloritized micaceous schist in form of grotesque Kubera-like figure, seated cross-legged on thin rectangular base. Ht. 5.87 in. Sk. 1926-3398. From Block H; Sq. 120-49'; Stratum III.

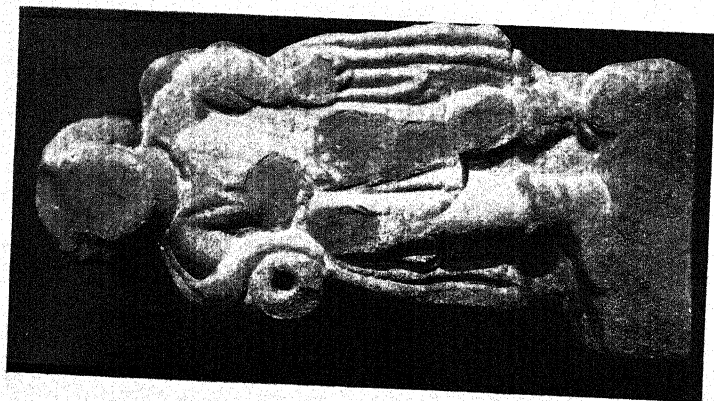


FIG. 9. Standing male figure of grey Taraki sandstone. Ht. 26.25 in. Although free-standing, the figure is in alto-relievo, with flat unworked back. Sk. 1916-A. 739; Stratum II.



FIG. 10. Standing male figure of grey Taraki sandstone. Ht. 16 in. Free-standing alto-relievo as in Fig. 9. Like the preceding it is the work of a local sculptor of Taxila. From the Dharmarajika Stupa. Dh. 1912-277; N.E. of Main Stupa.

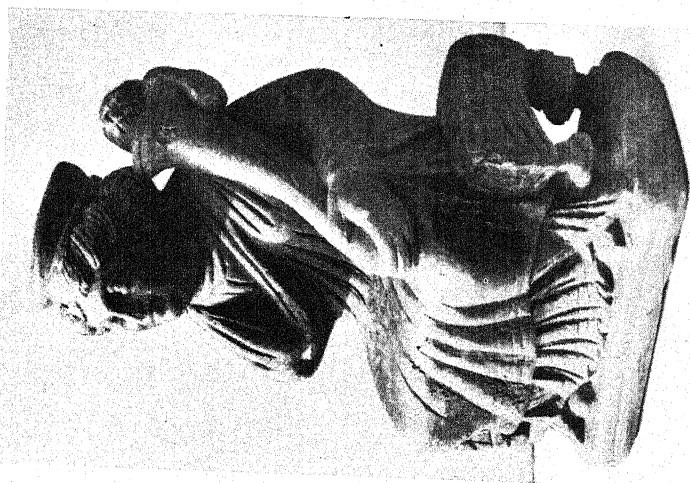


FIG. 11. Statuette of goddess, of potstone. Ht. 4.62 in. Copy of Graeco-Roman original. Sk. 1922-860/2; from Block C'; Sq. 52.85'; Stratum II.

Azes did not come to the throne until some years later, then Maues' death may have occurred any time prior to the assumption by Vonones of the imperial title, which happened probably in 54 or 53 B.C. To what extent Vonones was able to make good his claim to that title is problematical. In Arachosia, Špalahores and his son Špalagadames both acknowledged his suzerainty, the former designating himself by the honorific title "brother of the great king", and the latter merely as the son of Špalahores. Later, as vassals of Vonones, they extended their sway to Kāpiśi and Taxila, where their coins are found in the early Śaka stratum. Špalirises, too, started by calling himself merely "brother of the king"; later, he took the title "great king", and conferred it also on his son Azes I; lastly, he proclaimed himself "king of kings". Tarn, who takes the view that Špalirises put an end to the kingdom of Hermæus about 30 B.C., concludes that Špalirises and his son Azes must have been using the imperial title at the same time. They may have done so, but it should be noted that the bronze coin of Špalirises with the Seated Zeus Nikephorus of Kāpiśi, which Tarn accepts as proof of his victory over Hermæus, was struck in the Arachosian, not in the Kāpiśi mint, and it is quite likely, therefore, that it was struck as a propaganda coin, for the purpose of asserting his claim to the overlordship of Kāpiśi, which he may well have done on the occasion of his assuming the imperial title, though he was not in *de facto* possession of Kāpiśi. His action would thus be on a par with that of Indian rulers, when they laid claim to the title of *Chakravartin* or Universal monarch. Had he been in possession of Kāpiśi itself, he would naturally have made use of the superior mint in that city.

Now what has Professor Bachhofer to say of this chronology? He accepts Tarn's date for the death of Maues in 58 B.C., but puts the accession of Azes I in the same year, and rejects the rest of the scheme in its entirety, maintaining that Vonones, the suzerain of Arachosia, was identical with Vonones I of the Arsacid dynasty of Parthia (A.D. 8/9-11/12), that his vassal Azes was Azes II, not Azes I, and that Azes' predecessors Špalirises, Špalagadames, and Špalahores have consequently to be fitted in somehow between the reigns of Azilises and Azes II. Bachhofer's first argument relates to the era of Azes. How, he asks, did Azes I come to give his name to an era which started in 58 B.C., if he himself was not associated

as "great king" with his father Špalirises until about 45 B.C. ? This question had already been answered, though not, I think, very convincingly, by Tarn himself, who suggests that, in adopting the new era, Azes may have been desirous of emphasizing the fact that he was not a Śaka, but of Parsian blood, and that his house and people had never been subject to Maues. Alternatively he suggests that by dating his era from the year of Maues' death (58 B.C.), Azes was claiming not only to have succeeded to Maues' empire but that that empire, though it had lapsed *de facto*, had never lapsed *de jure*. Neither explanation is very convincing. A simpler and more likely one, as it seems to me, is that Azes' conquest of the Eastern Panjāb and the Jumna valley brought him into contact with parts of India where the Vikrama era was already in use, and that he found it convenient for many reasons to introduce that era generally throughout his dominions, where it would naturally come to be known by his name. This would account for his name alone being attached to the era without the addition of his imperial title. In Hindustan the Vikrama era was commonly distinguished from other eras by the word *kṛīṭa*, whatever precisely that may mean¹; in the Panjāb and North-West it was distinguished by the word *Ayasa*.

This, however, is not Professor Bachhofer's chief argument. That argument is a palæographic one, based on the coin legends of these Arachosian rulers. He observes, as Tarn and earlier writers had done before him, that the square forms of the Greek letters O, Σ, and Ω occur on some of their coins, and he infers from this that the coins in question, including those of Špalahores and Špalirises, must be referred to a date after about A.D. 10. He states that □ and ⊐ indicate a date later than c. 40 B.C.; that ω indicates the period between A.D. 10-40; and Ω a date not earlier than about A.D. 10. But what actually are the facts about the use of these letters? The square omikron is found at Athens in inscriptions dating from the third century B.C., in one at Susa dating from 98 B.C., and in another at Seleucia dating from 72-71 B.C.² In Parthia (whence it is generally assumed to have found its way into the North-West of India) it appears not infrequently on the coinage

¹ On the different explanations of this term put forward by scholars, see Konow in *CII.*, vol. ii, p. lxxxvi. The earliest recorded date in the *kṛīṭa* era is 232.

² R. H. McDowell, *Stamped and Inscribed Objects from Seleucia on the Tigris*, pp. 254-5.

of Orodes II (55-38 B.C.). The square sigma, on the other hand, is found on coins of the Parthian Mithradates III (56-55 B.C.) and along with the square omikron on those of his successors Orodes and Phraates IV. There is not the slightest reason, therefore, why these two signs should not have appeared in Arachosia on the coinage of the Parthian Vonones and his vassal chiefs by 50 B.C. There remains the square omega, ω , and its rounded counterpart ω . Apart from the coins of the Arachosian rulers this form of the omega is used on coins of the Greek king Nicias and the Śaka satraps Kharahostes and Rājuvula. If, therefore, we were to accept Professor Bachhofer's dating, we should have to assign these rulers to about A.D. 10 or later. In no case is this possible. Nicias was one of the Greek rulers swept away by the eastern conquests of Azes I. He cannot, therefore, have been later than the third quarter of the first century B.C. According to the record on the Mathurā Lion Capital, Kharahostes was the father-in-law of Rājuvula, his daughter being Ayasia Kamuia, chief queen of Rājuvula. It is unlikely, therefore, that he was younger than the latter. Rājuvula himself, who, like Kharahostes, was a member of the powerful house of Chukhsa, was a contemporary of Azes I and after his defeat of the Eastern Greeks became satrap of the Eastern Panjāb. Later, he was elevated to the rank of Great Satrap and extended his realm to Taxila in the north and the Jumna basin, including Mathurā, in the south-east. On the Mathurā Lion Capital he appears already as Great Satrap and his son Śudasa as Satrap. It is out of the question, therefore, to refer his or his father-in-law's coins to the date postulated by Professor Bachhofer.

It is clear, then, that little reliance can be placed on this epigraphic evidence adduced by Professor Bachhofer. But though it fails to prove his argument, it does not of course dispose of it, since the square forms of these Greek letters were admittedly commoner in the first century A.D. than in the first century B.C. We must, therefore, examine his theory on its own merits and consider some of the more obvious difficulties in the way of its acceptance. And, first, as to the identification of Vonones of the Arachosian coins with Vonones I, the Arsacid king of Parthia. Professor Bachhofer does not attempt to explain how at this period (the first quarter of the first century A.D.) an Arsacid king came to interfere directly in the affairs of Arachosia. Under Mithridates II a Suren had liquidated the Śaka peril in Sīstān, and, as a reward, had received

that country as his personal fief; and from that time onward Sīstān and the countries to the east of it, including Arachosia, had been the direct concern of the Surens, without whose permission it is highly improbable that any Arsacid king could have asserted his suzerainty over them. And in point of fact no Arsacid, so far as we know, ever attempted it. Surely, too, Vonones I was one of the least likely among the Arsacids to achieve such an ambition! For what was his history? His early years were spent as a hostage in Rome, where he is reputed to have acquired effeminate ways of life. After the assassination of Orodes II in A.D. 7 he was allowed by Augustus to return to Parthia and succeed to the vacant throne. But his Roman manners soon brought him into disfavour with his subjects, and within six years he was defeated and driven out of the country by Artabanus II. He then became king of Armenia, but at the instance of Artabanus was again deposed and, with the approval of Augustus, kept in custody in Syria until A.D. 19, when, in attempting to escape, he was killed by his guards. Thus he was on the throne of Parthia for no more than six years, and for most of that time was engaged defending his position against Artabanus. Yet Professor Bachhofer asks us to believe that this was the man who alone among the Arsacids made himself suzerain of Arachosia and the Panjāb, and maintained his position there for a dozen years or more. Or are we to suppose that the reigns of the four chiefs, Špalahores, Špalagadames, Špalirises, and Azes, were all crowded into the six years between A.D. 8 and 14, when Vonones I occupied the precarious throne of Parthia? Such a supposition would manifestly be absurd.

Next, as to the identification of Azes, son and successor of Špalirises, with Azes II. The order of succession of the three Śaka emperors, Azes I, Azilises, and Azes II, is beyond dispute, since Azes I struck joint coins with Azilises, his son, as co-emperor, and Azilises in turn struck joint coins with his son Azes II as co-emperor. Thus both Azilises and Azes II were born in the purple; each in turn was a "king of kings" before his father's death; and neither can be shown ever to have used the lesser title of "king" or "great king". On the other hand, Azes, son of Špalirises, appears first as great king jointly with his father before becoming king of kings. It is clear, therefore, that he cannot be identified with Azes II, though he may very well be identified with Azes I, whom there are other reasons for connecting with

Arachosia. Indeed, the numismatic evidence for identifying Azes I with the Arachosian king is overwhelming. Let the reader who has any doubt about it turn again to the Standing Zeus type of Azes I—a type used neither by Azilises nor by Azes II—and compare it with the corresponding coins of the Arachosian rulers (*BMC.*, Pls. XVII, 9, 10; XXI, 7, 8, 10; XXII, 1, 3; and *Cunn.*, op. cit., Pls. IV, 1, 2, 4, 5, 9, 11, 12; V, 4, 4a).

To enlarge further on this argument is superfluous, for with the demolition of his main propositions, the whole fabric of Professor Bachhofer's thesis falls to the ground. A few words, however, must be spared for the coinage of Hermæus, which is one of the many subsidiary questions discussed by Professor Bachhofer. The coins of Hermæus found in Sirkap fall into three classes, viz. (1) twenty-eight specimens of the type "Bust of king and Zeus enthroned". They are all of copper and comprise eleven specimens resembling the small silver issues illustrated in *P.M. Cat.*, IX, 657, and seventeen resembling *P.M. Cat.*, No. 666. (2) Two barbaric imitations of the foregoing. (3) 263 specimens of the type "Bust of king and Nike" illustrated in *P.M. Cat.*, IX, 682, and the legends ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΞΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ and *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Heramayasa*. The first of these classes was no doubt issued by Hermæus himself, the second may have been made by forgers. As to the third, Tarn has attributed them to Kujāla Kadphises and explained them as propaganda coins. Bachhofer, on the other hand, says that "this type was always, and correctly, considered to be the last of Hermaios', who appears there as an old man [*sic*]". Neither of these views is, in my opinion, correct. The fabric, design, find-spots, and associations of these coins all combine to indicate that they were issued by one of the Śaka or Parthian rulers who followed Hermæus in the Paropamisadæ. Of the 263 specimens from Sirkap, fifty came from the uppermost stratum, 204 from the late Śaka and Parthian strata (II and III), five strays from the early Śaka stratum (IV), and four strays from the Greek strata (V and VI). Of the coins found in association with them, local Taxilan were represented in seven groups, Eucratides, Menander, and Maues in two, Azes I in sixteen, Azes II in eighteen, Gondophares in five, Abdagases in two, Rājuvula in two, Kadphises I in eighteen, and Kadaphes in thirteen. It is evident, therefore, that these imitation coins of Hermæus, which were presumably struck in the Paropamisadæ, must have had

a wide and prolonged circulation at Taxila during the Śaka-Pahlava period and under the early Kushāns.

Was Hermæus ever in possession of Taxila? The presence of his coins suggest that he may have been, and the period during which he might have held it was between the death of Śpalagadames and the occupation of the city by Azes I. This would go far to explain the curious revival of Greek power during his reign and the intimate relations that he seems to have had with Hippostratus (Tarn, p. 337). On the other hand, the coins actually struck by Hermæus were not numerous at Taxila, and may well have found their way there in the course of trade between Taxila and the Paropamisadæ after the latter had passed into Śaka and Parthian hands—a supposition which seems all the more likely, because the coins in question turned up in the late Śaka, Śaka-Parthian, and Surface strata.

Professor Bachhofer is of opinion that Hermæus was still reigning in the second decade of the first century A.D. This means that he must reject the identification of Hermæus with the Yin-mo-fu of the Ch'ien-han-shu and the evidence it affords of his having come to the throne before 48 B.C. But the difficulties involved in Bachhofer's chronology are more formidable than this; for into this second decade he has now crowded not only Vonones, Śpalahores, and Śpalagadames, but also Śpalirises and Azes II, as well as part of the reign of Hermæus. And this is not all, since by implication we must also add Azilises. For Azilises was the immediate predecessor of Azes II, and as his coins show that he was ruling in Kāpiśī (he uses not only the Zeus Enthroned type on his hemidrachms, but the Standing Zeus with Mt. Pilusāra on his didrachms), it follows that he must have come after Hermæus, and must be wedged in somehow into the same decade between Hermæus and Azes II. And what, then, of Azes I? If Azilises was reigning in the second decade A.D., how did his predecessor and father come to the throne in 58 B.C.? I leave it to their author to answer these conundrums, which, I confess, are beyond me.

Even now, however, we have not finished with this fateful second decade A.D. For a little later Professor Bachhofer finds himself constrained, in furtherance of his palæographic argument, to bring the Greek king Nicias into the same decade and to make the Kushān Kujāla Kadphises the immediate successor of Hermæus, allowing a very brief interlude for Śpalirises, but seemingly none

whatever for Śpalahores, Śpalagadames, or Azilises, whom he evidently excludes altogether from the Paropamisadæ. In support of this view he, oddly enough, quotes the well-known passage from the Hou-han-shu, which runs as follows: "Kao-fu (Kābul) was never dependent on the Yüeh-chi, and it is therefore a mistake of the Han book (i.e. the Ch'ien-han-shu) when it includes it among the five *hi-hou*. Later on it fell under the dependency of An-hsi (Parthia), and it was when the Yüeh-chi triumphed over An-hsi that they, for the first time, took Kao-fu." A little further on the Hou-han-shu tells us that "the *hi-hou* of Kuei-shuang, called K'iu-tsiu-k'io, attacked the four other *hi-hous*; he styled himself king; the name of his kingdom was Kuei-shuang. He invaded An-hsi and seized the territory of Kao-fu; moreover he triumphed over Pu-ta and Ki-pin and entirely possessed those kingdoms. K'iu-tsiu-k'io died more than eighty years old. His son Yen-kao-chen became king in his stead. He again conquered T'ien-chu and appointed a general there for the administration". The meaning of these two passages is clear. The Kushān ruler Kujūla Kadphises, whose identity with K'iu-tsiu-k'io is not in dispute, did not take possession of the Kābul region until he had overcome the Parthians who were then in occupation of them. Who the Parthians referred to were is put beyond reasonable doubt by the numerous coins of Gondophares found in that region. It follows, therefore, that Kujūla's conquest of Kao-fu could not have taken place until the break-up of Gondophares' empire, i.e. until round about A.D. 50. And it is quite impossible, if we are to accept the testimony of the Hou-han-shu, that he could have been the immediate successor of Hermæus, even if the latter's date could be brought down to A.D. 15 or thereabouts.

What age Kujūla was at the time of his victory over the Parthians is not recorded. The Chinese chronicler tells us that he lived to be over eighty, but obviously he could not have been very advanced in years when he carried through such arduous campaigns. Assuming, however, that he was then between fifty and sixty—he could hardly have been more—he would have been born round about 5 B.C. and died towards A.D. 80. His coins have been found in such large numbers in Sirkap (more than 2,500 in all, including 412 of the Kadaphes series) that it would be natural to infer that he added Gandhāra and Taxila to his other conquests. This, indeed, is not impossible, though it seems on the whole more likely that it was

not Kujūla himself but his son V'ima Kadphises who annexed Taxila and the Panjāb, if not Gandhāra. This would accord with the testimony of the Hou-han-shu quoted above. It need not, of course, be concluded that V'ima's conquest of India was achieved entirely after his father's death. The subjugation and settlement of Kujūla's new territories west of the Indus could hardly have been completed much before A.D. 60, and as Kujūla himself was then probably between sixty and seventy years of age, nothing would have been more likely than that he should retire from active campaigning and leave it to his son to follow up his conquests in the lands beyond the Indus. We may suppose, accordingly, that V'ima attacked and overthrew the Parthians in Taxila soon after A.D. 60, and that, after establishing himself there, he very naturally made use of his father's coinage, which would be all the more convenient because his supply of copper had in any case to come from Southern Afghānistān. There are also some grounds for inferring that he may have supplemented his father's currency by striking some of his own in the local mint at Pushkalāvati. These coins, of which twenty-three specimens were found in Sirkap, are distinguished by the humped bull of Śiva on the obverse and a Bactrian camel on the reverse, with the legend *Maharayasa rayarayasa devaputrasa Kuyula Kara Kaphsasa* and other variants. The reason for associating them with V'ima rather than with Kujūla Kadphises is that the word *kara* has been interpreted as the equivalent of *kala*, which was used at a later date in Turkeṣtān with the meaning "prince", and if this interpretation is correct, it would seem that the coins were probably issued by V'ima as crown-prince during his father's lifetime. In that case a coin with the bust of Hermæus and Heracles and the legend *Kujula kara dhramathidasa* may also have been issued by V'ima.

Another coin as to the precise authorship of which there is some dispute, is a small silver piece of which four unique specimens were found in Sirkap. It shows the bust of a Kushān king with characteristic headdress on the obverse, and Nike holding wreath and palm on the reverse, with the legend . . . *maharajasa rajatirajasa Kushanasa ya(vugasa)*. There are good grounds, as I have shown elsewhere, for attributing this silver piece to Kujūla rather than V'ima Kadphises, and this view is also taken by Professor Bachhofer. But he suggests that it was struck soon after the death of Hermæus in the second decade of the first century A.D. The date proposed

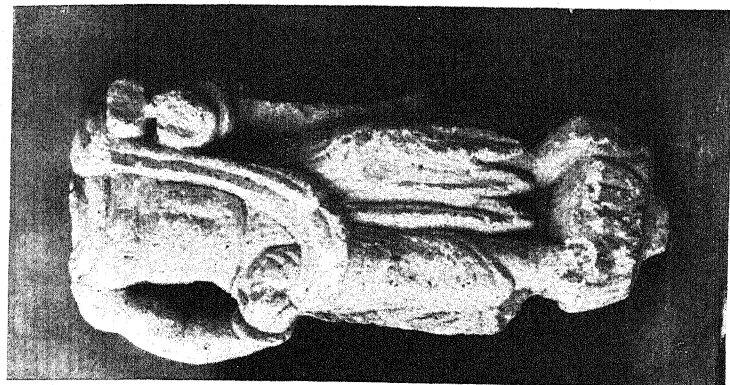


FIG. 14. Statuette of standing male figure in round, of grey micaceous schist. Ht. 12.25 in. From Dharmarajika. Dh. 1930-27; Mon. Court A; Sq. 14-17.

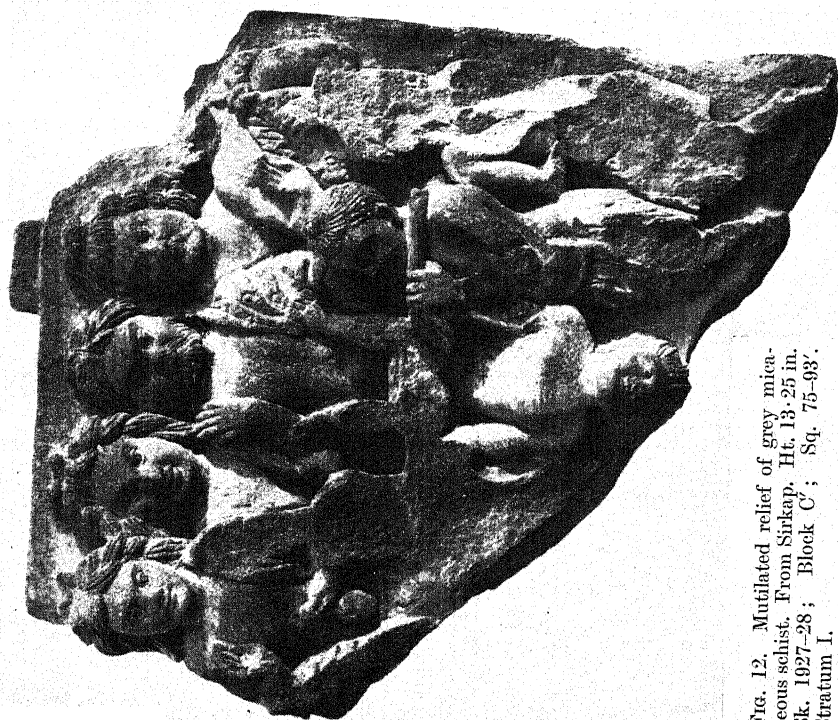


FIG. 12. Mutilated relief of grey micaceous schist. From Sirkap. Ht. 13.25 in. Sk. 1927-28; Block C'; Sq. 75-93. Stratum I.



FIG. 13. Free-standing female figure of grey micaceous schist, from Dharmarajika. Ht. 5.3 in. Dh. 1914-339; M. 8.

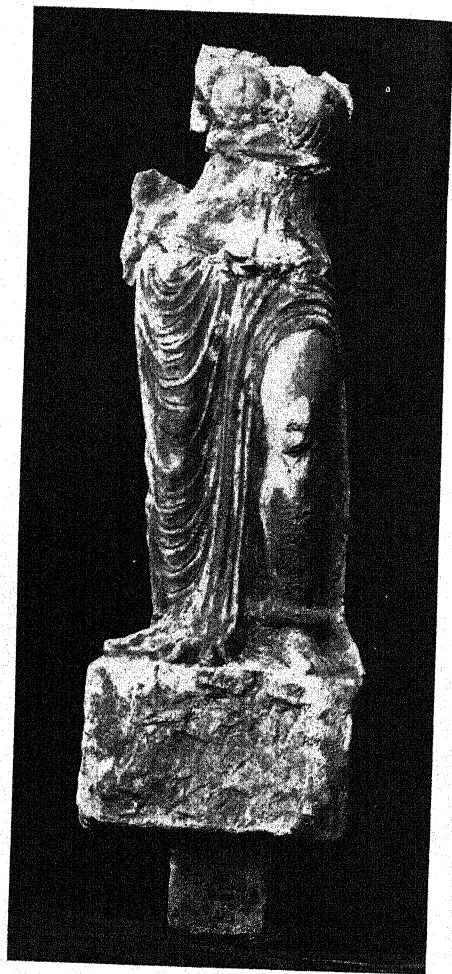


FIG. 15. Draped female statuette of grey micaceous schist, partly in round, partly in alto-relievo. Ht. 15 in. From Dharmarajika. Dh. 1914-314. East of Q. 1.

is impossible. This silver coinage was struck soon after the conquest of the Lower Indus country in order to replace the silver coinage of the conquered Parthian chiefs from which it was copied, and which was represented in Sirkap by a number of unique pieces found in company with the Kushān coins. All the coins in this group are of pure silver and of the same fabric and style; and all emanated from the same mint. The other rulers represented are Sasan, Sapēdanes (if that is the correct name), and Satavastra. Of these the earliest was Sasan, who was the nephew of the Strategos Áspavarman and belonged, therefore, by blood or adoption, to the powerful Goruaia family. He had held a high position—possibly that of Strategos, like his uncle, though this is not stated, under both Gondophares and Pacores; then, as the empire began to break up and the Parthians were forced further and further west, he evidently carved out a kingdom for himself somewhere in the region of the Lower Indus, taking the title of “great king and saviour”. This he may have done either during or after the reign of Pacores, who succeeded to the throne sometime after A.D. 45, and may be presumed to have reigned for ten years or so. Sapēdanes, on the other hand, who uses the imperial title, could not have done this until after Pacores’ death. To a still later date belong the coins of Satavastra, which were less worn than those of his predecessors. Last of all come the Kadphises’ coins, issued no doubt after the Kushān conquest of the Lower Indus, which on other grounds can hardly be assigned to an earlier date than A.D. 65. Thus it was a very far cry from the death of Hermæus to the time when these early Kushān coins were issued. In point of fact it could hardly have been less than a century.

On the vexed subject of Kanishka’s date both Tarn and Bachhofer accept the view that he came to the throne in A.D. 78, and was the founder of the Śaka era. This is the date adopted by Rapson and Thomas in the *Cambridge History of India* as well as by several other scholars, who reckon A.D. 78 as the last year of V’ima’s and the first of Kanishka’s reign, and place the death of Kujūla and accession of V’ima round about A.D. 60. They may be right, but there are weighty arguments on the other side, which have yet to be countered. One of these, as already indicated, is that, if Kujūla died about A.D. 60, he must have been some seventy years of age when he won his great victories over the Parthians—an hypothesis which, on the face of it, is highly improbable. Another objection

is that between the death of Kujūla and A.D. 78 there was all too little time for the abundant and widespread coinage of Soter Megas, to say nothing of that of V'ima Kadphises himself, especially if Kujūla's own coins were in use for some years after the conquest of the Panjāb.

Then there is the testimony from Chinese sources. For the thirty years between A.D. 73 and 102 Pan-ch'ao, the famous Chinese general, was pursuing his career of unbroken conquest in the West, which added the kingdoms of Shen-Shen, Khotan, Kucha, and Kashgar to the Chinese Empire.¹ It would seem hardly possible, therefore, that during this self-same period and in these same regions Kanishka was also winning those great victories which enabled him to extend his dominions to the east of the Tsung-ling mountains and caused the tributary Chinese princes west of the Yellow River to send him hostages.² Another no less cogent objection is that the Hou-han-shu Annals, which cover the period only between A.D. 25 and 125 and up to that date show an intimate knowledge of what was happening in neighbouring countries to the west, give us a precise account of the reigns of Kujūla and V'ima Kadphises, but make no mention of the much more famous Kanishka.³

As to the evidence of monumental remains, it is significant that the small stūpa K. 3 at the Dharmarājika, which contained three coins of Kanishka, belongs to a class of semi-ashlar structures, including among others the larger stūpas K. 1 and N. 4, none of which could have been erected much before A.D. 150. To the same Kushān group belongs also a somewhat later stūpa, P. 6, which contained three coins of Huvishka and seven of Vāsudeva, and was presumably erected during the latter's reign. Such evidence is not of course conclusive, but it warrants at least the presumption that Kanishka was reigning in the middle of the second century.

Evidence pointing in the same direction is also furnished by the bronze casket from the Stūpa of Kanishka at Peshawar, the coarse and decadent decoration of which seems to indicate a date sub-

¹ Cf. Sylvain Lévi in *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, pp. 421-2.

² Vincent Smith (*EHI.*, 4th Ed., p. 269) is doubtless right in holding that the Sie expedition of c. A.D. 90, which met with disaster at the hands of Pan-chao, was dispatched by V'ima Kadphises. This expedition has sometimes been confused with the later and successful expedition of Kanishka against the Chinese in Turkestan.

³ Cf. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, II, viii, p. 150; Konow, *CII.*, ii, p. lxxv.

stantially later than the beginning of Kanishka's reign, if that reign started in A.D. 78. I hesitate, however, to make use of this argument, because I think it not unlikely that the stūpa in question may have been built, not by Kanishka I, but by his less famous grandson, Kanishka II, who may be identical with the Kanika who, according to Tāranātha, was a prince of vast wealth and erected four great stūpas at the four points of the compass, while providing at the same time for the maintenance of 30,000 bhikshus.

Yet another sidelight on this question of Kanishka's date comes from two inscribed sculptures of the Mathurā School at Sāñchī in East Mālwa (Ākara). One of the inscriptions is dated in the year 22 of the Kanishka era and in the reign of a Rāja Vaskushāna, whom we may take to have been a minor feudatory of the Kushāns. The other, to which Professor Bachhofer refers without apparently realizing its true significance,¹ is dated in the year 28 and in the reign of Vāsushka, son of Kanishka I (?). Assuming that Kanishka's era started in A.D. 78, these dates would correspond with A.D. 100 and 106 respectively; assuming that it started in A.D. 128, they would correspond with A.D. 150 and 156. It is clear, however, that the sculptures could not have been dedicated at the earlier dates, since Sāñchī was then in possession of the Andhras, who were wholly independent of the Kushāns and would certainly not have tolerated the setting up of these records. On the other hand, they might have been dedicated when Ākara was in possession of one or other of the Western Satraps who acknowledged the

¹ Cf. Bachhofer's footnote 204 on p. 250 of his article. In the same footnote he puts forward another ingenious argument based on the so-called Chashtana statue from Māt near Mathurā, but the premises are too flimsy for his conclusion to be taken seriously. The only reason for connecting the statue in question with the Western Satrap Chashtana, son of Ysamotika, is the fragment of an inscription consisting of three *aksharas* and part of a fourth, which Vogel read as . . . *masthana*. Even if the reading *Chashtana* be correct, it is obviously far from proving that the statue represents the Western Satrap of that name or that he belonged to the Kushān royal family. Nor do we know when the statue was carved or when it was installed in the *devakula*. The *devakula* had been built in the reign of Huvishka's grandfather (presumably Vīma Kadphises, whose statue had been placed inside it), but had then fallen to ruin and was restored during the reign of Huvishka. It is probable, therefore, that the statues found inside it were set up either soon after its erection or after its renovation in the reign of Huvishka. But it is also possible that some of the statues, e.g. that of Kanishka, may have been brought from some other site and installed in the *devakula* some years after their execution. Whatever be the truth of the matter, we should clearly not be justified in drawing conclusions such as Bachhofer has done.

suzerainty of the Kushān emperor, i.e. either during the reign of Nahapāna, whose known dates are from A.D. 119 to 124—in which case Kanishka's era must have started a few years before or after A.D. 100—or after Ākara had again been wrested from the Andhras by Rudradāman I—an event which took place shortly before A.D. 150—in which case Kanishka's era would have started about A.D. 128. Of the two dates, the later is for every reason the more likely. In any case these inscriptions seem to put A.D. 78 out of court.

For the foregoing and other reasons which I cannot now discuss, I incline to accept the date adopted by Vincent Smith, Konow, and Aurel Stein. My personal view, as already indicated, is that Kujūla drove the Parthians out of the Kābul Valley about A.D. 50, when he was between fifty and sixty years of age; that his son V'ima then carried his conquests into Gandhāra, the Panjāb, and Sind, and eventually succeeded his father in or about A.D. 78.¹ V'ima's reign may then have lasted into the opening years of the second century A.D., after which I surmise that there was an interval of a couple of decades or so before Kanishka succeeded him.² During this interval there seems to have been some disintegration of the Kushān power, but it is virtually certain that one or more viceroys under the name of Soter Megas—a title used by V'ima himself—continued to rule the Panjāb and North-West on behalf of the absent Kushān overlord.

¹ It is noteworthy that the Kālawān inscription of the year 134 = A.D. 76, makes no mention of a Kushān ruler at Taxila.

² Apart from other considerations, the changes in script, language, and design in the coins of the two rulers point to an interval between them.

The "Era of Zoroaster"

BY S. H. TAQIZADEH

IT is well known that the time of Zoroaster and the date of his birth or that of the announcement of his mission have not so far been indisputably established. In spite of very numerous writings published during more than two centuries, in which the question has been studied by many scholars, no unanimous conclusion has been reached. The opinions of famous scholars in the last eighty years have differed so widely that the date suggested has ranged between the eleventh or tenth centuries and the last part of the sixth century B.C. We are still hardly near to agreement on the matter.

The object of this article is by no means an attempt to survey those studies or to solve this difficult question. No fresh attempt would appear useful so long as no new data have come to light, as all the scanty material available for building up conjectural theories has been examined.

The expression "era of Zoroaster" in this article has, therefore, no connection with the real date of Zoroaster's life. It refers only to the date that seems to have been popularly accepted in Sasanian times for that of the "coming of religion", which probably means Zoroaster's announcement of his mission. Although apparently during the Sasanian period no era for dating events was in use in Persia in the current life of the people except eras of the ruling kings, which as a rule began with the year of accession, and ended with the last civil year of the reign preceding a king's decease,¹ there are several indications that in some religious or scientific books of the period an era popularly believed to begin with the commencement of the tenth millennium of the world cycles was in use. The millennium belief of the late Zoroastrian cosmogony is well known. According to this belief, out of twelve millennia of the whole period of the existence of the world, 6,000 years had elapsed when the first man, *homo primus*, was created, and another 3,000 years (or 3,096 years) had elapsed when Zoroaster appeared. Thus Zoroaster came at the beginning of the tenth millennium.

¹ We have some indications of the existence of an "Era of Ardashir" in some writings of the Syrian subjects of Persia, but no definite proof of its use in the official or non-official Persian documents of the Sasanian period

The date of the beginning of the tenth millennium cannot be ascertained unless the date of Zoroaster's mission (or his birth) is fixed with certainty. If it were fixed it would have possibly constituted the epoch of an era to be used by all Zoroastrian communities just as Christians, Manichæans, and Muslims have based eras on the birth or death or some event in the life of the founders of their religions, but the learned Persians of Sasanian times, who had no clear idea of their history and of the sequence of historical events, had apparently little knowledge of the dates of the past rulers of their country or of that of the founder of their religion. This ignorance was, I think, mainly due to the absence of a continuous era by which they could count time from a fixed date.¹ They knew, of course, the name of Alexander who had conquered their country, and the Arsacide dynasty which preceded the Sasanian. But having cut themselves off from Greek and Roman culture, more or less dominant in the Parthian period, through the national or rather chauvinistic revolution of Ardashīr and his immediate successors, they knew apparently nothing—or very little—of the Seleucid era, used commonly not only by Greeks and many other communities in the East, but even by all Christian Syrians in the Persian Empire. The Seleucid era has many different names according to the different people using it, such as the era of the Greeks, the Syro-Macedonian era, the era of contracts, the era of the astronomers of Babylon, etc. It became known as the era of Alexander among Muslim authors who took this name from the Syrians. There are, however, reasons for believing that under this name the era was not known, or at least not familiar to the Persians in the early Sasanian periods. For instance, they would not have put the date of Alexander's domination in Persia only 266 years before the foundation of the Sasanian dynasty if they had had knowledge of an "era of Alexander" (beginning soon after Alexander's death), and when they could easily find by inquiry from their Syrian and Greek subjects that the year of the foundation of the Sasanian rule corresponded to the 538th year of the "era of Alexander" (Seleucid). They (or at least some of them) may, however, have known this era under the name of the "era

¹ An era beginning in 247 B.C. was apparently in use before Sasanians at least in certain circles (e.g. in Babylonian documents), and this was, no doubt, the "Arsacid Era"; but it is doubtful if it was ever in general use as the Parthian coins bear no such dates.

of the astronomers of Babylon", as it must have been used under this name among the Chaldeans of the central region of the empire (Lower Mesopotamia). Mani used this era under this name in his "Shāpūrakān", written in Persian for the benefit of the Persians in the middle of the third century.

Possibly the Persians have come to believe that this "era of the Babylonian astronomers" was identical with the beginning of their own millennium, i.e. the tenth millennium of their cosmogonical cycles which they believed corresponded with the appearance of Zoroaster.

Ibn Naubakht (Abū Sahl), the famous Persian astronomer of the eighth century (see *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, p. 274), stated (according to Maqrizī in his *al-Mawā'iz w'al-I'tibār*, vol. 1, p. 254, Bulaq

edition, where the name is misprinted as *ابن بونخت*) that from

the day on which the sun started to revolve *من يوم سارت الشمس*

(by which the beginning of the seventh Zoroastrian millennium is meant) up to the end of the 25th year of the reign of Anūsharvān (Khosrau I) 3,867 years had elapsed. This makes the 25th year of Khosrau I, the famous Sasanian King, or A.D. 555-6 the 867th year of the tenth millennium (*Hazārāt* or "thousands"). Actually A.D. 555 was the 867th year of the Seleucid era. A similar though not exactly identical number is found in Bīrūnī's book *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī* composed in A.D. 1030 (Berlin MS. Orient 4to 1613), where in the chapter relating to "*fardārāt*" the 25th year of the reign of Khosrau I is given as corresponding to the 851st year of the fourth millennium (i.e. from the appearance of mankind).¹ The difference of sixteen years from Ibn Naubakht's number may be the result of some different calculation which I tried to explain in a previous article (*BSOS.*, vol. ix, p. 139). The 25th year of the reign of Khosrau I was apparently the year when the famous Persian astronomical tables called *Zij i Shāh* or *Zij i Shahriyārān* were composed.

There is another very curious instance of the possible identification of the Seleucid era with the millennium of Zoroaster. The Chronologers of Ardashīr, who considered the interval between Alexander the Great's rule in Persia and the beginning of the

¹ For full details see the article on "Some Chronological data relating to the Sasanian period" by the present writer, *BSOS.*, vol. ix, p. 134.

Sasanian empire to be only 266 years and established this as an official reckoning, apparently knew (perhaps by inquiry from pagan Syrians of Babylonia) that the foundation of the Sasanian empire corresponded to the year 538 of an era used by the natives of the country where their new capital was established, namely "the era of the astronomers of Babylon". Therefore, these chronologists believing that the astronomer's era was the beginning of their own "thousand" (tenth millennium) and marked the coming of their prophet, they had to divide this number (538) into two parts, one for the period between Zoroaster and the death of Alexander, and the other for the time from the latter event to the rise of the Sasanians to power. The former part comprised the reigns of the pre-Alexandrian kings from the thirtieth year of the rule of Vishtāspa to the end of the reign of the last of his successors (Dārā) plus the reign of Alexander until his death, considered by them to be fourteen years; and the latter part was assigned to the period between Alexander's death and the accession of Ardashīr to the throne of Iran, which period was considered to be that of the reign of Arsacides. Thus they put 272 years for the first part (258 for the reign of the Kianians and 14 for that of Alexander) and 266 years for the second part (the Ashkaniāns).

Now what is the origin of these two enigmatic numbers (258 or rather 272 and 266)? Two different conjectures may be advanced. The first is to suppose that Persian chronologists and historians of the Sasanian period, having no clear idea of the length of the Parthian rule or of the length of time between the death of Alexander and the foundation of the Sasanian empire, may have assumed that the beginning of the Parthian period had followed immediately upon the death of Alexander. They may also have confused the first Arsacid with one of their most famous kings of that dynasty, or the date for the foundation of the Arsacide dynasty with that of some great victory which may have marked the culmination of Parthian power and glory. If such an epoch-making event, or a great king, acquiring for the first time the title of "King of Kings", could be sought in some date around 40 B.C. the puzzling number 266 could perhaps be explained. One might suppose that the Parthian period was reckoned by Sasanian chronologists as 266 years, while the remaining 272 years were given to the period from Zoroaster to the death of Alexander. The length of Alexander's reign being counted by Persians as fourteen years, the interval

between Zoroaster and Alexander's conquest of Iran or the death of Dārā would then be 258 years. According to this theory we must suppose that the 266 years given to the Parthian period was based on a historical, though erroneous, calculation by placing its beginning 283 years later than the death of Alexander (323 B.C.) and 209 years later than the beginning of the real Arsacid era (247 B.C.), and that the number 258 given to the interval between Zoroaster and Alexander (or 272 between Zoroaster and the death of Alexander) was no more than the simple result of subtracting 266 from 538 without any traditional foundation whatever. It must then be assumed that on this wholly wrong calculation Persian historians proceeded to adjust the length of the reign of the Parthian kings known to them by dividing the 266 years among them and making the total period of their rule fit in the framework of this time. They had then to divide also the 258 years between the reign of Vishtāspa after the coming of the religion (i.e. after his thirtieth year of rule), and that of his successors down to the end of Dārā. The result was on one hand the table of Ashkāniān Kings and the length of the reign of each of them according to the official Sasanian history books (such as *Khvatāi Nāmak*) preserved in the first table of Bīrūnī's *Chronology*, p. 117, giving a total of 266 years to the whole of the period of the Parthian rule; and on the other hand the table of the Kianian Kings from Vishtāspa to Dārā and their reign, which could only be worked out artificially so as to fit with the total period of 258 years.

The second possible conjecture for the solution of the two enigmatic numbers is to suppose that the number relating to the interval between Zoroaster and Alexander was an old and genuine tradition, and that it represented the real or at least popularly credited distance of time between the prophet and conqueror in much older times (even in the Achæmenian and early Parthian periods). Therefore, the Persian chronologers, believing in the identity of the era of the astronomers of Babylon with the beginning of the tenth millennium and the appearance of Zoroaster, divided the number 538 (which was the date of the year of the accession of Ardashīr to the throne of Iran as King of Kings according to the era of Babylonian astronomers) in two parts. The first part was naturally to correspond to the traditional interval between Zoroaster and the death of Alexander, i.e. $258 + 14 = 272$ years, and the second part, or the balance left after subtracting this

number (272) from 538, they assigned for the rule of the Ashkaniān dynasty that ended with Ardashīr's victory over Ardavān, and (according to their belief) began immediately upon the death of Alexander. Thus they reached the conclusion that Zoroaster lived 538 years before Ardashīr, and that the death of Alexander and the beginning of the Parthian period (both of which they believed to be of the same date) was 272 years after Zoroaster or the beginning of their "thousand", and hence 266 years before the accession of Ardashīr to the throne of Iran in A.D. 226 (or Sel. 538). This theory would mean that, unlike the first theory, out of the two enigmatic numbers, the first, i.e. 258 (or 272), was genuine, and the second (266) artificial, obtained only by calculation.

Hildegard Levy in her interesting article in *JOAS*. (vol. 64 (1944), p. 197) entitled "The Genesis of the Faulty Persian Chronology", discussed this same question at some length, and having rightly identified the "era of Zoroaster" or the beginning of the tenth millennium with the Seleucid era¹ preferred the first theory. By a comprehensive survey of the sources of Parthian history she tried to find an event in the Parthian period around A.D. 40 that might offer a suitable milestone in their history, and fit with the supposed erroneous assumption of the Persian chronologers that such an event marked the foundation of the Arsacid rule which they presumed to have followed immediately upon the death of Alexander. Her theory, however ingenious, seems hardly to offer the right solution. There seems no need for supposing that the 266 years fixed by the official Sasanian Chronology as the length of the interval between Alexander and Ardashīr are connected with any real historical fact of the Parthian period. Persian chronologers apparently confounded the date of the "coming" of their religion with that of the beginning of the reign of a Macedonian diadochos who began to rule in Iran twelve years after the death of Alexander (whose conquest marked in their belief the end of the glorious period of Zoroastrianism). Therefore no one need believe that they could have any correct and detailed knowledge of the history of the five and a half centuries between Alexander and Ardashīr. These chronologers who relied perhaps on the unwritten and confused tradition of Mobads had but a vague idea of the number, date, or the order of the kings of the former dynasty. In their tradition

¹ I had reached the same conclusion independently, but the learned lady has certainly full right to priority by publishing her ingenious remarks.

they had only a confused memory of great names and famous achievements and great events. Having no era for the record of the sequence of the events and being by excessive nationalism almost isolated from Greek culture and Roman annals, what they remembered and preserved by tradition consisted of the following facts: that their religion was founded by Zoroaster, who lived 258 years before the "cursed" Greek conqueror, Alexander; that Alexander ruled for fourteen years (possibly taken from a Greek source where probably the whole period of Alexander's rule 336-323 is counted, inclusive of his year of accession and the year of his death); and that tribal kings reigned in Iran after Alexander, of whom the last was Ardavān, the adversary of Ardashīr. Having mistakenly identified the date of Zoroaster and the beginning of his millennium with the Seleucid era ("era of the astronomers of Babylon"), they naturally put the beginning of Alexander's reign in Sel. 258, and his death in Sel. 272, and so counted the 266 years of interval between Sel. years 272 and 538 (the latter date being known to them as that of Ardashīr's reign as King of Kings of Iran according to the astronomers' era) as the length of the reign of the "tribal Kings", by which name they meant the Arsacides.

Thus the number 266 was nothing but the result of the deduction of the traditional number 272 from the historical 538 which was the Seleucid date for the accession of Ardashīr to the imperial throne of Iran in A.D. 226. To hold fast to the number 266, take it for some real date before Ardashīr, and try to explain it by connecting it with an epoch-making historical event, would be somewhat similar to the procedure of Kīsravī, the uncritical historian of the ninth century, who gave the Sasanian dynasty a rule of over 696 years by subtracting 266 from the Seleucid date of Yazdegird's death in A.D. 652, namely 963.¹

It is perhaps useful to reiterate that the Sasanian chronologists had no conception of the Seleucid era as the "era of Alexander" which later became the usual name of the era in the writings of the Syrian Christians, such as Aphraates, etc. Otherwise they would hardly have dated Alexander's reign as the 258th year of the era of Alexander.

The above explanation of the enigmatic numbers disproves the

¹ This is according to the Kīsravī's table as given by Bīrūnī (*Chronology*, p. 130) on the authority of Ḥamza of Isphahan. The numbers in the printed copy of the book of Ḥamza (Berlin ed., pp. 15-16) are, however, erroneous.

somewhat fantastic theory of Mas'ūdī (*BGA.*, viii, p. 98) and Bīrūnī (in his *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdi*) to the effect that Ardashīr had intentionally falsified the history on apocalyptic ground by reducing the length of the Parthian rule (see *BSOS.*, vol. ix, p. 139, and vol. x, p. 128).

Buddhism in Ceylon

By SIR JOSIAH CROSBY

FOREWORD

I FEEL bound to record my grateful sense of obligation to those Sinhalese Buddhists, whether belonging to the Holy Order or laymen, who have helped me in the preparation of these the following notes. Their courtesy was unfailing and their readiness to impart information inexhaustible. As for the humbler and less educated Buddhists of Ceylon, it is impossible not to be touched by their simple devotion and by the vivid manner in which their religion enters into their life.

I. HISTORICAL

Note.—The facts set out in this section have been taken chiefly from *A Short History of Ceylon*, by H. W. Codrington (Revised Edition, London, Macmillan and Company, 1939).

Buddhism is professed by the vast majority of the Sinhalese, who make up the greater portion of the population of Ceylon.¹

According to credible tradition Buddhism was introduced there by Mahinda, son of the Indian Emperor Asoka (268–231 B.C.), who dispatched missionaries to various adjacent countries. This occurred about 247 B.C., in the reign of King Devānampiya Tissa of Anurādhapura. Before that time this monarch must have adhered to Hinduism, which made its influence felt continuously from the dawn of history in Ceylon and is still closely associated with Buddhism so far as the religious practices of the ordinary Sinhalese are concerned. King Devānampiya Tissa and a large number of his subjects embraced the Buddhist religion after listening to Mahinda. Thereafter the King built for the fraternity of monks (the *Sangha*) at Anurādhapura the monastery known as the Mahā Vihāra, for so long the centre of Buddhist orthodoxy in Ceylon.

¹ The latest Census (1946) showed that the population of Ceylon comprised 6,650,825 souls, of whom 64·4 per cent were Buddhists and 69·6 were of Sinhalese race. Followers of the Hindu religion accounted for 19·9 per cent of the population, and were mostly Tamils. 9·1 per cent of the population were Christians, and 6·5 per cent were Muslims.

He also built a *vihāra* on Mihintalē, a hill close to Anurādhapura which was the scene of Mahinda's first appearance to him ; among other religious edifices erected by him in the same city was the Thūpārāma, the first of its *dāgabas* and supposed to enshrine the right collarbone of the Buddha. The story goes that King Devānampiya Tissa also sent an embassy to the Emperor Asoka, as a result of which Mahinda's sister Sanghamittā joined her brother in Ceylon, where she introduced the Order of Nuns. Legend relates further that she brought with her the right branch of the sacred Bo-tree under which the Buddha attained to Enlightenment. This branch was planted within the precincts of what was once the Mahā Vihāra at Anurādhapura, where it still flourishes with the reputation of being the oldest authenticated tree in the world.

The form of Buddhism carried to Ceylon by Mahinda was that of the Southern school or the *Hīnayāna* (" Lesser Vehicle "). Ever since the days of King Devānampiya Tissa this Southern, and relatively purer, school of Buddhism has continued to be the religion of the Sinhalese, though there were times when efforts were made to supplant it by followers of the Northern form or *Mahāyāna* (" Greater Vehicle "), whose chief stronghold was the monastery attached to the great Abhayagiri Dāgaba, that was begun at Anurādhapura by King Vatta Gāmani (*circa* 104 B.C.) and completed 218 years after the foundation of the Mahā Vihāra (*circa* 29 B.C.). The Abhayagiri fraternity separated from the Mahā Vihāra and founded the Dhammaruci sect, which was associated with the Vaitulya heresy (of *Mahāyāna* origin) and was suppressed by King Vohāraka Tissa in the third century A.D. Later in the same century, in the reign of King Gothābhaya, some of the monks of the Abhayagiri establishment reverted to the Vaitulya heresy, whilst a secession took place among them to another monastery, the Dakkhinagiri Vihāra, where a new heretical sect, the Sāgaliya, was established. The heretics were once again put down by King Gothābhaya, but his son Mahāsena (fourth century A.D.) persecuted the monks of the Mahā Vihāra and showed favour to the fraternity at Abhayagiri ; later, however, he became reconciled with the orthodox monks, although he had suppressed their monastery and offended them by erecting on its lands the Jetavanārāma monastery for the Sāgaliya sect. A century or two later King Aggabodhi I of Anurādhapura was responsible for a further suppression of the Vaitulya heresy, which disappeared finally from

Ceylon in the reign of Parākrama the Great of Polonnaruwa (A.D. 1153–1186).

Thus the orthodox monks of the Mahā Vihāra fraternity resisted all attempts to crush them and in the end won a complete victory. So there are now no traces of the Northern form of Buddhism in Ceylon unless the *Mahāyāna* is to be regarded as having contributed to the Hindu influence that still pervades the practice of Buddhism by the people at large. This triumph of the *Hīnayāna* monks has helped to establish the reputation of Ceylon as a centre of orthodoxy and of Pali studies; but that reputation is based equally upon the work of the great commentator Buddhaghosa, who in the fifth century A.D. came from India to Ceylon, where he translated into Pali the Sinhalese commentaries on the Buddhist scriptures and composed his own religious treatise the *Visuddhimagga*. Already under King Vatta Gāmani, in the first century B.C., as a consequence of the dissemination of false doctrine, the Buddhist scriptures and their commentaries, which had been handed down hitherto by word of mouth, were for the first time recorded in writing. This work is said to have been achieved by means of a convocation assembled at Aluvihāre, a monastery at Mātālē, not far from Kandy, and still extant.

Owing largely to invasions from India, the capital of the Kings of Ceylon was transferred from Anurādhapura to Polonnaruwa, one of the Polonnaruwa monarchs being King Vijaya Bāhu I, who reigned from A.D. 1056 to 1111. This king restored the Buddhist religion, which had become impaired by the various Indian wars, and he caused the monastic succession to be renewed from Rāmañña, that is, the modern district of Pegu, in Lower Burma.¹

Although there are no historical grounds for placing the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon before the time of King Devānampiya Tissa in the third century B.C., popular legend claims that the Buddha visited it three times. On his first visit he is supposed to have come to Mahiyangana, whence he expelled the Yakkhas or demon inhabitants of the country; his second visit was to Nāgadīpa (in the Jaffna Peninsula), where he settled a dispute between the local (Nāga) princes; and on the third occasion he went to Kelaniya (near Colombo), proceeding thence to Adam's Peak, where he left the imprint of his foot, and afterwards to

¹ From a Burmese account we learn that the request for help in renewing the succession was addressed to King Anawrahta of Pagan.

Anurādhapura. The simpler devotees still firmly believe such tales.

Not only was the right collar-bone of the Buddha said to have been enshrined by Devānampiya Tissa in the Thūpārāma Dāgaba at Anurādhapura, but this king is said to have received from Asoka the Buddha's alms-bowl. This bowl was one of the sacred objects possession of which was a sign of kingship, but it was removed to India by a Tamil invader. The Tooth Relic is still preserved in a temple at Kandy, considered the holiest of all Ceylon's shrines. It purports to be the left eye-tooth of the Buddha and to have been brought to Ceylon in the hair of a princess from Kalinga (in India), at the request of the King of that State, who wished to prevent it from falling into the hands of an enemy. It is said to have been brought in the fourth century A.D. when Siri Meghavanna reigned at Anurādhapura, and it is reputed to have remained in Ceylon, with one brief interval, ever since. It is an object of such intense veneration that the Kings of Ceylon were not expected to continue on the throne if deprived of it. The relic was transferred from Anurādhapura to Polonnaruwa, where Parākrama the Great built for it the circular temple, Wata Dā-gē. Subsequent kings, throughout their wanderings during many wars, were careful to take the Sacred Tooth with them wherever they established themselves.

Although the monks of the Mahā Vihāra succeeded in maintaining orthodoxy in Ceylon, there were times when discipline in the monastic brotherhood left much to be desired. This was probably due to the constant wars during much of the medieval period and to the occupation of the Northern region by Tamils. So we hear of convocations being called for the reform of monastic discipline (i) in A.D. 1222 by Vijaya Bāhu III, whose capital was at Dambadeniya; (ii) his son Parākrama Bāhu II (1234-1269); (iii) Vikrama Bāhu III of Gampola (*circa* 1357-1374); and (iv) in 1396-7 by Vira Bāhu.

But the monastic order did not suffer only from a relaxation of discipline during this period; there was also a lapse in the succession of holy orders. To restore this succession and re-establish valid ordination King Vijaya Bāhu I of Polonnaruwa, as has been related, had recourse to the good offices of monks from Burma. Between four and five hundred years later King Vimala Dharma Sūrya I of Kandy sent an embassy with a similar object to Arakan, and in

1603-4 he caused a great ordination ceremony to be held near his capital. Still later another embassy was sent to Arakan in 1697-8 by King Vimala Dharma Sūrya II of Kandy, the state of the Buddhist clergy calling once again for urgent reform and the temple lands having been allowed to become hereditary property. In A.D. 1750 King Kirti Sī of Kandy dispatched an embassy to the King of Siam with a request that Siamese monks might be sent to Ceylon to renew once more the validity of monastic orders. The request was entertained, monks from Siam arriving in 1753; the renewal by them of valid ordinations led to the founding of the Siam sect, the most influential of Ceylon's three sects to-day. The other two, the Amarapura and the Rāmañña Sects, were founded in A.D. 1801 and 1862 respectively, by monks who were still not satisfied as to the maintenance of monastic orders and of ecclesiastical discipline in Ceylon and who accordingly repaired to Burma, where they were ordained afresh. The mission to Siam, it may be remarked, repeated a precedent in reverse, for centuries before the Siamese monarch King Rām Khamheng of Sukhothai (A.D. 1275-1317) had received a religious mission from Ceylon, which he had invited that the Buddhist Church might be placed upon a proper footing within his realm.¹

While independent monarchs still ruled in Ceylon, the king was the protector and patron of the Church, to which he made large benefactions, chiefly of land for monasteries. After the last king of Kandy was deposed in A.D. 1815, Church and State were parted and the three Buddhist sects left to manage their own affairs.

A member of the Siam Sect reckons there are about 14,000 monks attached to it. The Amarapura and Rāmañña Sects are said to include some 3,000 and 2,000 monks respectively. This gives a perhaps exaggerated figure of approximately 19,000 monks for a population of nearly 7,000,000, mostly Buddhists. Anyhow the proportion of monks to laymen is considerably less than in Burma, where monks are computed to number 100,000 out of

¹ Two centuries afterwards a like service was rendered by the Buddhist Church in Ceylon to the Church in Burma. In *Buddhism in Burma* (Burma Pamphlets, No. 3, published by Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 1943), the author, G. Appleton, writes as follows with reference to the Burmese King Damma-zedi (1472-1492): "His most important work was the mission of twenty-two monks which he sent to Ceylon in 1475. These monks received valid ordination from the monks of the ancient Mahā Vihāra monastery, and on their return they transmitted these orders to the clergy throughout Burma." This occurred in the reign of the Sinhalese King Bhuvanaka Bāhu VI of Kōttē.

a Buddhist population no more than double that of Ceylon. In bygone days Sinhalese monks must have been far more numerous than now, as is testified by the very many ruins of religious buildings on the sites of Anurādhapura and Polonnaruwa. To-day candidates for admission to the Holy Order grow fewer every year ; the devout seeing in this tendency a sign of our materialistic age and of the diminishing stress laid upon the spiritual life.

It is (or used to be) the custom for every Buddhist male in Burma and Siam to enter a monastery at least once during his lifetime, if only for a single Lenten season of about three months. No such custom prevails in Ceylon where, indeed, the caste system would militate against it. But once a Sinhalese Buddhist has taken full orders it is unusual for him to discard the yellow robe, since he would incur public disapproval. In Siam and in Burma, however, a monk is free to leave the brotherhood at any time with impunity, in accordance with the principle laid down from the first that Buddhist monastic vows need not be taken for life.

In Ceylon, as in other *Hīnayāna* countries, the Order of professed Nuns (*bhikkhunis*) has ceased to exist. In place of ordained nuns are found *upāsikās*, women who have undertaken to observe " the ten precepts " and lead a life devoted to religion. They shave their heads and are dressed in white.

II. HINDU INFLUENCE ON BUDDHISM IN CEYLON

It is often the boast of Buddhists in Ceylon that their religion is purer in form than anywhere else, not excepting Burma, Siam, and Cambodia where, equally with Ceylon, the *Hīnayāna* school prevails. Although Sinhalese Buddhists may be entitled to pride themselves upon the orthodoxy of their doctrines, the practice of their religion has been more corrupted in Ceylon than in any other *Hīnayāna* country.

For one thing practice has been affected by Ceylon's peculiar caste system, derived from India in remote times, and, though less severely enforced than before, effective even now, more especially in such a matter as intermarriage between members of different castes. Although the system of caste in Ceylon differs from, and is less rigid than, the Indian and makes for differentiation of a social rather than of a religious nature, the unfortunate fact remains that, when the Siam Sect was established under the auspices of King Kīrti Śrī, of Kandy, that sovereign enjoined that only members

of the highest, or *goigama*, caste should be admitted to it. Since this limitation has been enforced ever since by the Siam Sect, which at the time of its foundation in the latter half of the eighteenth century possessed a monopoly of Buddhist holy orders, it follows that, before the establishment of the Amarapura and Rāmañña Sects, no Sinhalese could become a monk unless he belonged to the *goigama* caste.¹ So, it is difficult to see how the claim to exceptional purity of religion can be substantiated, since it is one of the outstanding merits of the Buddha's teaching that distinctions of caste were not recognized in the composition of the monastic fraternity. No such distinction is made in Siam or Burma or Cambodia, where the caste system does not obtain.

That admission to the Holy Order was dependent on caste before the time of King Kīrti Śrī is shown by a quotation from Robert Knox's *Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon*, printed in London in the year 1681. Knox was an English sailor taken prisoner in Ceylon during the reign of King Rājāsinha II, of Kandy (*circa* 1629-1687). He wrote :—

“The first and highest order of priests are the *tirinanxes* who are the priests of the Buddou god. Their temples are styled *vihars*. . . . They admit none to come to their order but persons of the most noble birth, and that they have learning and be well bred ; if such they admit many.”²

¹ This is in theory the cultivator class, but includes the best born families.

² It may be of interest to continue with this quotation from Knox, as throwing light upon the condition of the Buddhist hierarchy in the early Kandyan days. He goes on to say :—

“But they (i.e. Buddhist monks) do not presently, upon their admission, arrive unto the high degree of a *tirinanx* ; for of these there are but three or four, and they are chosen out of all the rest of the order unto this degree. These *tirinanxes* only live in the *vihara* and enjoy great revenues ; and are, as it were, the superiors of all the priests, and are made by the king. . . . All the rest of the order are called *gonni*. The habit is the same for the whole order, both *tirinanxes* and *gonni*. It is a yellow coat, gathered together about the waist, and comes over the left shoulder, girt about with a belt of fine packthread ; their heads are shaved, and they go bare-headed, and carry in their hands a round fan, with a wooden handle, which is to keep the sun off their head. . . . They have the honour of carrying the tallipot with the broad end over their heads foremost, which none but the king does.”

This is a fairly accurate description of the dress worn by the monks of the Siam Sect to-day, except that an umbrella of modern Western type has been substituted for a leaf of the “*talipot*” palm as a protection against the sun. (The purpose of the round fan is to screen the monk's face from the public view.) By “*tirinanx*” I presume that Knox means “*therunāṇsē*”, an honorific term for a monk of senior standing. By “*gonni*” is perhaps meant “*gannināṇsē*” (see later under the section dealing with the Buddhist sects).

But it is most of all in the field of mythology that Hinduism has influenced religious practices and beliefs in Ceylon, where the average Buddhist has adopted a goodly portion of the Hindu pantheon, though with sundry modifications and the addition of local minor deities of his own. He is careful, it is true, to set the Buddha above these various gods. Chief among those gods in his estimation is Vishnu, who is said to have been constituted the special guardian of Ceylon by his brother, the God Indra, who had himself received this charge from the Buddha. Yet another Hindu god who is the object of a special cult among Sinhalese Buddhists is Skanda, or Kārtikeya, the son of Siva, to whom is dedicated a shrine at Kataragama in Southern Ceylon of such sanctity that it is visited not only by Buddhist pilgrims from other parts of the island but also by Hindu worshippers from as far afield as Kashmir. Still another deity who enjoys a great vogue is the goddess Pattini, whose cult derives from Madura in the South of India, and who is conceived as the goddess of chastity, bringer of rain and controller of epidemics among men and cattle. Among yet others, Ayiyanār (Ayenār) is to be identified with Hari-Hara, the son of both Siva and Vishnu, and shares with the Kataragama God (Skanda) the rôle of a protector to whom travellers in the jungle pray for safety. According to one legend there are four Guardian Gods over Ceylon: Saman Deviyā (or Sumana) in the East; Skanda in the South; Vishnu in the West; and Ayiyanār in the North. But Vishnu is supposed to have delegated his functions to Vibhishana, the brother of Rāvana, the demon king of Ceylon, who figures in the Rāmāyana. Vibhishana has been deified in Ceylon.

Saman Deviyā is the principal among the gods of local origin and is believed to have been at first a mountain deity. He is supposed to have met the Buddha when he first visited the island, and to have obtained from him a lock of his hair. Another local god, or demi-god, whose cult is said to be confined to the northern part of Ceylon, is Kalukumāra ("The Black Prince"), also known as Kaludevātā; he is believed to be an incarnation of one Nīla, a gigantic Sinhalese warrior of the second century A.D. Kalukumāra would thus appear to belong to the hundred or more *bandāras*, or spirits of ancestors and heroes deified after death. Another of them is known as the Alut Nuwara Bandāra, popularly considered to be the "Adigar" or Prime Minister of Vishnu. Other *bandāras*

represent ancient kings of Ceylon, e.g. King Mahāsena of Anurādhapura, who constructed the great Minnēriya Tank and is worshipped locally as the "Minnēri God".

In most, if not all, Buddhist monasteries in Ceylon to-day will be found an image or picture of Vishnu (sometimes accompanied by his "Adigar", the Alut Nuwara Bandāra), but always in a minor place and subordinated to the Buddha. There will often be an image or picture of the Kataragama God as well. Images of Maitreya (the coming Buddha) are also frequent and representations of Saman Deviyā are likewise found. In a monastery near Mātālē I have seen an image of Kalukumāra attired in old-time Sinhalese official dress, such as is also worn by the Alut Nuwara Bandāra. The images of these deities are generally veiled by a curtain which is drawn aside upon occasion by the temple ministrants for the benefit of worshippers. But the image of the Buddha is never concealed.

Within the precincts of some Buddhist monasteries there may be seen separate shrines of some Hindu deity where religious offices are held in his honour. Such a building is called a *devāla* and the ministrants are known as *kapurālas*; these are Sinhalese and ostensible Buddhists, their functions being handed down from father to son.

The influence of Hinduism upon Buddhist practice in Ceylon is sometimes ascribed especially to the Kings of Kandy, the last four of whom were Tamils with Tamil queens. The practice of constructing *devālas* on the premises of Buddhist monasteries, for example, is alleged not to have been in general vogue during the pre-Kandy period. But Buddhism and Hinduism have been closely associated in Ceylon from the earliest times, and Sinhalese kings are known to have chosen wives from India long before Kandy became the capital. I have heard some Sinhalese defend the intimate association between Buddhist and Hindu religious practice on the ground that a man can still be a Buddhist and yet adhere to another faith, and that the Buddha was careful to refrain from attacking other forms of belief during his lifetime. But the more enlightened among present-day Buddhists and certainly the monks of the Rāmañña deprecate this intermingling of the two creeds. In Burma, Siam, or Cambodia it is scarcely conceivable that an image of a Hindu deity should be displayed in a monastery or that a special shrine in his honour should be erected upon the premises,

though culture in those countries is impregnated with Hinduism, which at one time flourished there side by side with Buddhism, the latter sometimes in its northern form. (In ancient Cambodia it was a combination of Hinduism and *Mahāyāna* Buddhism that produced what have become the impressive ruins of Angkor.) But, since their exclusive adoption of the Southern form, Hindu influence has been confined chiefly to art and legend, and, even so, direct cultural contact with India was lost hundreds of years ago. The gods of the Hindu pantheon may still form a dim background against which the figure of the Buddha is set in the mind of the ordinary worshipper, but into the everyday practice of his religion they do not enter at all.¹

Of the four *devālas* at Kandy, which are regarded with great veneration by local Buddhists and Hindus alike, only one is situated on the premises of a Buddhist monastery, but all of them except one are close to the former Royal Palace and to the Temple of the Tooth, the other being a little further away.

The *devāla* within the precincts of a monastery is sacred to Nātha, who is popularly identified with Maitreya, the future Buddha, in whose coming advent Buddhists of the Southern and Northern schools unite in believing. There is reason to think, however, that Nātha may be identical with Avalokitesvara, one of the Bodhisatvas of the *Mahāyāna* school. This *devāla* enjoys special sanctity and the Kings of Kandy are said to have repaired to it at their coronation immediately after leaving the Palace. Although nominally a Buddhist religious building, it contains what to all outward appearance is a Hindu sanctuary, whose curtain is seldom or never drawn aside, though the image behind it is stated to be shown to successive lay administrators of the *devāla* on their first appointment to office. It is alleged that a cobra guards the inner shrine, making access dangerous to all but the initiated. The building is not imposing and the air of mystery which envelops the figure enshrined in it is altogether out of keeping with the practice of Buddhism in other *Hinayāna* lands.

The Mahā (i.e. The Great) Devāla is dedicated to Vishnu. Here the curtained shrine conceals a wooden cabinet said to contain

¹ There is still in existence at Bangkok, however, a college of Brahmins attached to the Royal Court, the members of which perform certain rites of Hindu origin upon special ceremonial occasions such as a Coronation, etc. These Brahmins are to all intents and purposes Siamese and have lost direct touch with India.

a red sandal-wood image of the God miraculously wafted across the sea to Dondra (the southernmost point of Ceylon), at the end of the eighth century A.D. Beside the major shrine is another one dedicated to the Alut Nuwara Bandāra.

The third of the *devālas* situated near the Royal Palace is dedicated to the goddess Pattini and contains a painted image of her behind the usual curtain.

The fourth *devāla*, further removed from the Palace than the others, is in honour of the Kataragama God. A curtain veils a small golden image of the deity, which is reported to have been donated by an Indian prince.

All of these *devālas* are reputed to be richly endowed and to each of them is attached a *basnāyaka nilamē*, or lay administrator, who looks after the temporalities. In view of this and the sanctity attaching to these establishments, the religious services which I saw held in them struck me as regrettably lacking in dignity. The officiating *kapurālas* were none too immaculately attired in garb such as might be worn by any wayfarer, and they were only to be distinguished by a soiled white cloth worn round the head. Only at the *devāla* dedicated to the Kataragama God was the service performed with more becoming decency by a Tamil Brahmin. (I understand that the religious care of this shrine has recently been entrusted to Tamil Brahmins, though the temporalities are still in the charge of a Sinhalese administrator.)¹

There is no lack of dignity in the religious offices celebrated by

¹ In his book, already quoted, Robert Knox writes rather disparagingly of the *kapurālas* as follows:—

“The second order of priests (after the Buddhist monks) are called Koppuhs (obviously meant to designate *kapurālas*), who are the priests that belong to the temples of other gods; their temples are called dewals. These are not distinguished by any habit from the rest of the people; no, nor when they are at their worship; only they wear clean clothes, and wash themselves before they go to their service. These are taken out from among the hondrems (i.e. members of the highest caste): they enjoy a piece of land that belongs to the dewal where they officiate, and that is all their benefit, unless they steal somewhat that is dedicated to the gods. They follow their husbandry and employments as other men do; but only when the times of worship are, which mostly is every morning and evening, oftener or seldomer, according as the revenue will hold out that belongs to that temple, whereof each is priest. The service is, that when the boiled rice and other victuals are brought to the temple door by others, he takes it, and presents it before the idol: whence, after it hath stood awhile, he brings it out again, and then the drummers, pipers, and other servants that belong to the temple eat it. These gods have never any flesh brought in sacrifice to them, but anything else.”

Buddhist monks in the Temple of the Tooth. But here also Hindu influence is to be discerned in the ceremonies performed before the outer casket enshrining the Relic, to which are made daily offerings of food, fruit, and betel, and which from time to time is bathed vicariously by having water poured over its reflection in a mirror.¹

In addition to venerating the Buddha and paying respect to Hindu and to local deities, the people of Ceylon have always propitiated maleficent beings or *yakkhas*, who may be nature spirits, or the ghosts of the departed. In other words, like the Burmese and Siamese, many of the Sinhalese are still animists. The so-called "devil dances", with which the name of Ceylon is associated, are a feature of their animistic rites.

¹ An illustration of the extent to which Buddhism and Hinduism are still intermingled is furnished by the following extract from the issue of the *Times of Ceylon* for 26th February, 1946 :—

"Hindu Pantheon in Buddhist Temple

"Batticaloa, Tuesday.

"An interesting ceremony in connection with the laying of the foundation stones for the erection of the images of the Hindu deities—Maha Brahma, Iskanda, Vishnu, Iswara, Ganadevi, Samandevi, and Nathadevi—took place at the Deva Mandiraya Buddhist temple in Koddamunai.

"A large number of Buddhists and Hindus were present at the auspicious hour. Mangala Pirith was chanted by a number of Buddhist priests."

(To be continued.)

Minor Sanskrit Texts on the Prajñā-pāramitā

1. The Prajñā-pāramitā-piṇḍārtha of Dinnāga

By GIUSEPPE TUCCI

THE palmleaf manuscript containing the text of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-piṇḍārtha* by Dinnāga was found in the monastery of Žalu which I visited in autumn 1939. It consists of three leaflets without indication of any date. This small book is an epitome of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā* and it is intended to classify the arguments expounded in this treatise and to adapt its long repetitions to the logic of a rational and intelligible scheme.

Though Haribhadra quotes from it, there is a certain discrepancy between the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* and the *Piṇḍārtha*; anyhow, both represent two of the most significant efforts of Mahāyāna dogmatics to impress a logical coherence upon the bulky expositions of the *Mahāyāna-Sūtras*.

On account of their brevity and preciseness these *versus memoriales* of Dinnāga enjoyed great diffusion in Mahāyāna schools, since in the most concise way they summarized one of the texts generally considered as the chief guide for realizing and experiencing the fundamental tenets of Buddhism, thus preparing the way to nirvāṇa.

The booklet was translated into Chinese by She hu, who arrived in K'ai fung in the year A.D. 980. It bears in Chinese the title: 佛母般若波羅蜜多貝集要義論 and is said to be the work of Ta yü lung. Nanjiō (1309), followed by Bagchi (*Canon bouddhique en Chine*, page 604), restored the Sanskrit title in the following manner: *Buddha-mātrkā-prajñā-pāramitā-saṅgīti-śāstra*, and attributed tentatively the work to Nāgārjuna.

The catalogue published by the Tōhoku Imperial University and Hobogirin on the basis of the Tibetan restored the Sanskrit title in the following manner: *Ārya-prajñā-pāramitā-saṅgraha-kārikā*, rightly attributing it to Dinnāga.

The Tibetan translation is included in mDo agrel: *aP'ags pa šes rab kyi p'a rol tu p'yin pai ts'ig le'ur bya pa*: *ārya-prajñā-pāramitā-saṅgraha-kārikā* (mDo agrel, xiv, no. 2, and cxxviii, no. 7). But

it is also known as *brgyad ston bsdus*, which, as rightly stated by Cordier, corresponds to the Sanskrit *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-piṇḍārtha*. This means that the book was known under either title, though on the authority of the Sanskrit manuscript we may presume that the original title was *Prajñā-pāramitā-piṇḍārtha*.

This book was commented upon by Triratnadāsa, dKon mc'og gsum gyi abaṅs in his *Prajñā-pāramitā-saṅgraha-vivaraṇa*.

Triratnadāsa is well known to the Tibetan tradition : according to Tāranātha (Schiefner, pp. 127 and 140) he was a pupil of Vasubandhu and a friend of Diñnāga, who commented on one of his works. Some Tibetan authorities were inclined to identify him with Āryaśūra, though there is no support for such a view.¹ His commentary exists in Chinese (Taishō, no. 1517) as well as in Tibetan (mDo agrel, xiv, no. 3).

The translators were : into Chinese She hu, into Tibetan the Kashmirian Pandit Tilakakalaśa and Blo ldan šes rab of the rNog clan. This is the well known lotsāva of the eleventh century, upon whom we are well informed by Tibetan sources ; for instance, *Deb t'er sñon po*, Ca, p. 37 ; Buston, *History of Buddhism*, trans. Obermiller, p. 215 ; G. Tucci, *Indo-tibetica II: Rin c'en bzan po*, p. 30.

The authority which the *Prajñā-pāramitā-piṇḍārtha* enjoyed is proved by the quotations from it found in some dogmatical works. Haribhadra refers to it five times in his *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* : p. 14 (v. 7), p. 18 (vv. 3-4), p. 28 (v. 1), p. 80 (v. 57a), p. 218 (v. 56).²

As regards the sources of the treatise there is no doubt that it follows strictly the points of view of Asaṅga. This is shown, for instance, by its classification of the various modes of unsubstantiality : these are according to Diñnāga sixteen, as compared with other lists of eighteen (*Mahāvīryūtpatti*, n. 934-951) or twenty *śūnyatās* (Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, Tucci ed., pp. 90 ff.) ; in the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* itself no classification of the *śūnyatās* is contained.

The chief source and the standard work on this topic being the *Madhyānta-vibhāga*, Diñnāga follows naturally this book commented upon by Vasubandhu and Sthiramati. In one case he uses

¹ v. Thomas, *The Works of Āryaśūra, Triratnadāsa, and Dharmikasubhāti*, Album Kern, Leide, 1903.

² A summary and synopsis of this work is to be found in : *rGyas gbrin bsdus gsum . . . miñ gi rnam grāns* by Klon rdol bla ma, complete works. t'a.

the same words as a *kārikā* of the *Madhyānta-vibhāga*; *rûpādya-bhāve tad dehapratisthālakṣaṇakṣatīḥ* (v. 10) to which verse 1, 17, of *Madhyānta-vibhāga* may be compared: *bhokṭṛbhojanataddehapratisthāvastuśūnyatā*.

Naturally there is nothing extraordinary in it, since the works of Maitreya-Asaṅga were soon considered as most authoritative by the school to which Dinnāga belonged. The *kārikās* were certainly learnt by heart by every pupil eager to become proficient in Mahāyāna dogmatics. But there is a certain difference between the traditional order of the sixteen modes of unsubstantiality as expounded in *Madhyānta-vibhāga* and that followed by Dinnāga, as can clearly be seen from the following table :—

<i>Madhyānta-vibhāga.</i>	<i>Dinnāga.</i>
(1) bhokṭṛś. (= adhyātmaś).	Id.
(2) bhojanaś. (= bahirdhāś).	Id.
(3) adhyātmabāhyaś.	Id.
(4) mahāś.	Id.
(5) śūnyatāś.	lakṣaṇaś.
(6) paramārthaś.	śūnyatāś.
(7) saṃskṛtaś.	prakṛtiś.
(8) asaṃskṛtaś.	atyantaś.
(9) atyantaś.	anavarāgraś.
(10) anavarāgraś.	sarvadharmāś.
(11) anavakāraś.	paramārthaś.
(12) prakṛtiś.	abhāvaś.
(13) lakṣaṇaś.	abhāvasvabhāvaś.
(14) sarvadharmāś.	saṃskṛtaś.
(15) abhāvaś.	asaṃskṛtaś.
(16) abhāvasvabhāvaś.	anavakāraś.

This diversity in the arrangement of the śūnyatā is easily explained, since Dinnāga tried to adapt rather forcibly to his scheme the contents of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā* and was therefore compelled to follow the arguments of the text he commented upon.

The section on the ten *vikalpavikṣepa* points to the same conclusion : these *vikṣepas* have been, as known, concisely enunciated by Asaṅga in the *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra* (xi, 77), and then, with more details, in the *Mahāyāna-saṅgraha-śāstra* (trad. Lamotte, chap. 11, p. 115). Mention of them is also made in the *Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi* of Hsuan Tsang, transl. by La Vallée Poussin, p. 521.

The Tibetan version follows quite faithfully the Sanskrit original ; the Chinese translation is generally satisfactory, though She hu has very often to struggle with the irreducible diversity of the two languages, and, though adapting very closely his text to Sanskrit, often he fails to render the conciseness of the original.

SANSKRIT TEXT

Namaḥ prajñāpāramitāyai
 prajñāpāramitā jñānam advayaṃ sâ tathāgataḥ |
 sādhyâ tâdarthyayogena tâcchabdyam granthamârgayoḥ || 1 ||
 âsrayâś cādihikâraś ca karma bhāvanayâ saha |
 prabhedo līgam āpac ca sânuśamsam udāhṛtam || 2 ||
 śraddhāvātām pravṛtṭyaṅgam śâstâ parṣac ca sâkṣiṇi |
 deśakālau ca nirdiṣṭau svaprāmānyaprasiddhaye || 3 ||
 saṅgītikartâ loke hi deśakālopalakṣitam |
 sasâkṣikam vadan vaktâ prāmānyam adhigacchati || 4 ||
 sarvaṃ caitam nipâtâtmaśravaṇâdeḥ prakīrttanam |
 prâsaṅgikam tu evârthâ mukhyâ dvâtrimśad eva hi || 5 ||
 prabhedaḥ ṣoḍaśâkâraḥ sūnyatâyâ yathâkramam |
 nirdiṣṭo 'ṣṭasahasryâ sa vijñeyo 'nyâpadeśataḥ || 6 ||
 ittham aṣṭasahasrīyam anyûnâ 'rthair yathoditaiḥ |
 granthasamkṣepa iṣṭo 'tra ta evârthâ yathoditâḥ || 7 ||
 bodhisattvaṃ na paśyāmīty uktavâms tattvato muniḥ |
 bhoktâ 'dhyâtmikavastûnâm kathitâ tena sūnyatâ || 8 ||
 rūpam rūpasvabhāvena sūnyam ity uktitah punaḥ |
 bâhyâny âyatanâniha bhogyâni pratiśiddhavân || 9 ||
 rūpâdy abhāve taddehapratiṣṭhâlakṣaṇakṣatiḥ |
 gatârthâ yena tad drṣṭam tadâdhyâtmikam ity asat || 10 ||
 âdhyâtmikânâm sūnyatve prakṛter api sūnyatâ |
 vijñânârūpam gotram hi kṛpâprajñâtmakam matam || 11 ||
 notpanno na niruddho vâ sattva ity âdinâ sphuṭam |
 sattvasamsârayoḥ kāmam darśitâ tena sūnyatâ || 12 ||
 Buddhadharmâms tathâ bodhisattvadharmân na paśyati |
 ity âdinâ vinirdiṣṭâ sūnyâ daśabalâdayaḥ || 13 ||
 prati prati yato dharmâḥ kalpitâ iti kīrttitam |
 tato na paramârtho 'sti dharmânâm iti cōktavân || 14 ||
 âtmâdidrṣṭer ucchedam mahatyâ prakaroti yat |
 tataḥ pudgalanairâtmyam bhagavân sarvathâ jagau || 15 ||
 sarvadharmâ anutpannâ iti kīrttayatâ tathâ |

kathitaṃ dharmanairātmyaṃ sarvathā tattvavedinā || 16 ||
 sāvadyaniravadyānām avṛddhiparihānitaḥ |
 saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtānām ca kuśalānām nirākṛtiḥ || 17 ||
 kuśalānām ca śūnyatve tadgatā 'kṣatā tathā |
 kalpitaiveti bhedaṇām śūnyatāyāḥ sa saṃgrahaḥ || 18 ||
 daśabhiś cittavikṣepaiś cittaṃ vikṣiptam anyataḥ |
 yogyaṃ bhavati bālānaṃ nādvayaññānasādhane || 19 ||
 tān apākartum anyonyaṃ vipakṣapratipakṣataḥ |
 prajñāpāramitāgranthas te ca sampiṇḍya darsitāḥ || 20 ||
 yad āha bodhisattvaḥ sann ity abhāvaprakalpanā-
 vikṣepaṃ vikṣipan śāstā sāmṃvṛtaskandhadarśanāt || 21 ||
 etenāṣṭasahasryādāv ādivākyaṭ prabhṛty api |
 āsamāpter niṣeddhavyā vidhinābhāvakalpanā || 22 ||
 hetuvākyaṇi naitāni kṛtyamātraṃ tu sūcyate |
 brahmañjālādisūtreṣu jñeyāḥ sarvatra yuktayaḥ || 23 ||
 bodhisattvaṃ na paśyāmi aham ity ādivistaraiḥ |
 nirākaroti bhagavān bhāvasaṃkalpavibhramam || 24 ||
 yaṃ na paśyati nāmāpi [na] gocaraṃ kriyāṃ tathā |
 skandhāmś ca sarvatas tena bodhisattvaṃ na paśyati || 25 ||
 kalpitasya niṣedho 'yam iti saṃgrahadarśanam |
 sarvo jñeyatayārūḍha ākāraḥ kalpito matau || 26 ||
 prajñāpāramitāyāṃ hi trīṇ samāśrītya deśanā |
 kalpitaṃ paratantraṃ ca pariniṣpannam eva ca || 27 ||
 nāstītyādipadaiḥ sarvaṃ kalpitaṃ vinivāryate |
 mātropamādidṛṣṭāntaiḥ paratantrasya deśanā || 28 ||
 caturdhā vyavadānena pariniṣpannakīrttanam |
 prajñāpāramitāyāṃ hi nānyā buddhasya deśanā || 29 ||
 daśasaṃkalpavikṣepavipakṣe deśanākrame
 trayāṇām iha boddhavyaṃ samastavyastakīrttanam || 30 ||
 yathādivākye niṣpannaparatantraparikalpitaḥ |
 abhāvakalpanārūpavikṣepavinivāraṇam || 31 ||
 tena buddhaṃ tathā bodhiṃ na paśyāmīti vācakaiḥ |
 āsamāpter iha jñeyā kalpitānām nirākṛtiḥ || 32 ||
 śūnye rūpe svabhāvena samāropaḥ kva kena vā |
 ity anyeṣv api vākyeṣu boddhavyaṃ tan nivāraṇam || 33 ||
 na hi śūnyatayā śūnyam iti vākyaṃ vinirdiśan |
 apavādavikalpānām nirāsaṃ sarvathoktavān || 34 ||
 mātropamas tathā buddhaḥ sa svapnopama ity api |
 ayam eva kramo jñeyo vijñair vākyañtareṣv api || 35 ||
 sāmānādhikaranyena prokto mātropamo jinaḥ |

mâyopamâdisabdais ca paratanthro nigadyate || 36 ||
 prthagjanânâm yaj jñânâṃ prakṛtivyavadânikam |
 uktam tad buddhaśabdena bodhisattvo yathâ jinaḥ || 37 ||
 nijam svarûpam pracchâdya tad avidyâvasîkṛtam |
 mâyâvad anyathâ bhâti phalam svapna ivojjhati || 38 ||
 advayasyânyathâkhyâtau phale vâpy apavâdinâm |
 apavâdavidalpânâm apavâdo 'yam ucyate || 39 ||
 na rūpam śūnyatâ yuktâ parasparavirodhataḥ |
 nîrûpâ śūnyatâ nâmarûpam âkârasaṅgataṃ || 40 ||
 ity ekatvavikalpasya bâddhâ nânâtvakalpanam |
 ruṇaddhi nânyat tad rūpam śūnyatâyâḥ kathamcana || 41 ||
 asad eva yataḥ khyâti tad avidyâvinirmitam |
 asatkhyâpanasaktyaiva sâvidyeti nigadyate || 42 ||
 idam evocyate rūpam prajñâpâramiteti ca |
 advayam dvayam evaitad vikalpadvayabâdhanam || 43 ||
 yuktim câha visuddhatvât tathâ cānupalambhataḥ |
 bhâvâbhâvavirodhâc ca nânâtvam api paśyati || 44 ||
 nâmamâtram idam rūpam tattvato hy asvabhâvakam |
 tat svabhâvavikalpânâm avakâśam nirasyati || 45 ||
 rūpam rūpasvabhâvena śūnyam yat prathamoditam |
 tat svabhâvasamâropasamkalpapratiṣedhanam || 46 ||
 notpâdam na nirodham ca dharmânâm paśyatîti yat |
 bhagavân âha tad vyastâ tadviśeṣasya kalpanâ || 47 ||
 kṛtrimam nâma vâcyâś ca dharmâs te kalpitâ yataḥ |
 śabdârthayor na sambandhas tena svâbhâviko mataḥ || 48 ||
 bâhyârthâbhiniveśas tu bhrântiyâ bâlasya jṃbhate |
 tathaiva vyavahâro 'yam na tv atrârtho 'sti kaścana ¹ || 49 ||
 atra tena yathâ nâma kalpyate na tathâsti tat |
 vâcyam vastu tato niṣṭhâ yathânâmârthakalpanâ || 50 ||
 prajñâpâramitâ buddho bodhisattvo 'pi vâ tathâ |
 nâmamâtram iti prâha vyasan satyârthakalpanam || 51 ||
 śabdârthapratiṣedho 'yam na vastu vinivâryate |
 evam anyeṣv api jñeyo vâkyeṣv arthavinîścayaḥ || 52 ||
 naivopalabhate samyak sarvanâmâni tattvavit |
 yathârthatvena tenedam na dhvaner vinivâraṇam || 53 ||
 Subhûtis tu dvayam vyasan śabdam śabdârtham eva ca |
 bodhisattvasya no nâma paśyâmîti sa uktavân || 54 ||
 prajñâpâramitâvâkyam nâsti yan neyatâ gatam |

¹ This verse is missing in the Chinese translation, where it is inserted in the commentary upon v 48, but in prose.

ūhyās tu kevalam te 'rthāḥ . . . sūkṣmayā dhiyā || 55 ||
 prakrāntārth[atira]skāro yā cārthāntarakalpanā |
 prajñāpāramitāyām hi proktā sā prativarnikā || 56 ||
 etāvān arthasamkṣepaḥ prajñāpāramitāśrayaḥ |
 āvartyate sa evārthaḥ punar arthāntarāśritaḥ || 57 ||
 prajñāpāramitām samyak samgrhyāṣṭasahasrikām |
 yat punyam āptaṁ tenāstu prajñāpāram ito janaḥ || 58 ||
 prajñāpāramitāpīṇḍārthasaṅgrahaḥ samāptaḥ ||
 kṛtir ācāryadignāgapādānām ||

TRANSLATION

(1) The gnosis is the monistic knowledge¹; it is the *Tathāgata*,² the object to be realized³; this word expresses the book in which this knowledge is expounded and the path to salvation as well, in so far as both are intended to this same aim.⁴

(2) These are the arguments dealt with in the text of the *Aṣṭasahasrikā*: the basis, viz. the Buddha, the fitness for (listening to) the teaching (viz. the *Bodhisattvas*), what should be done by these (Bodhisattvas), the meditation (on the contraries of the ten imputations), the classification (of sixteen aspects of unsubstantiality), logical arguing, the faults in which one may fall,⁵ the advantages.⁶

(3) As factors able to lead the believers to the appropriate action, the recorder (*saṅgītikartā*) in order to state his own authority indicates who is the teacher, whose assembly listened to the teachings, the time and the place where the teaching was held.⁷

(4) As a matter of fact, in this world, the recorder (*saṅgītikartā*) expounding things of which witnesses are known and that are definite as regards space and time, becomes an authority when he relates them.⁸

(5) All these (references), viz. the fact that he (the *saṅgītikartā*) heard the teaching as explicitly indicated by the adverb (*so*), the pronoun (*I*) and the verb (*have heard*), etc., are occasional⁹; the fundamental teachings of the gnosis are in fact thirty-two only.

(6) The sixteen various aspects of the unsubstantiality have been expounded progressively by the *Aṣṭasahasrikā*¹⁰: they must be understood as being explained by various enunciations.¹¹

(7) So this *Aṣṭasahasrī* results from these arguments, as many as they have been enunciated, not one less; a summary of the book

is here wanted ; the arguments are the same as those explained there.

THE SIXTEEN UNSUBSTANTIALITIES

I. *Unsubstantiality of inner elements (adhyātmaśūnyatā).*

(8) The ascetic truly said : “ I do not see the Bodhisattva ” ; in this way he explained the unsubstantiality of the elements which are supposed to constitute the inner individuality of the sentient being.¹²

II. *Unsubstantiality of outer elements (bahirdhāsūnyatā).*

(9) When again it is said that the objects visible, etc.,¹³ are unsubstantial in so far as in them there is no such a thing as visibility, etc., he excludes that external perceptions are enjoyable by that same person.

III-VI. *Unsubstantialities of body, of space, of attributes and unsubstantiality itself (bahiradhyātmamahālakṣaṇaśūnyatā-śūnyatā).*

(10) If visible objects and the like do not exist, it is implicit that the body in which they (are supposed to co-exist), the world which constitutes¹⁴ the support of this, the (thirty-two) marks of the great man vanish ; when one realizes this, individuality appears to that man unreal as being a mere inner assumption.

VII. *Unsubstantiality of nature (prakṛtiśūnyatā).*

(11) If the inner experiences are unsubstantial, the unsubstantiality of nature is implicit¹⁵ ; in fact the spiritual family of which one partakes consists of consciousness and it is said to result in compassion and gnosis.

VIII, IX. *Unsubstantiality endless and unsubstantiality without beginning and end (atyanta and anavarāgraśūnyatā).*

(12) When He states that the individuals are neither born nor annihilated¹⁶ and so on, in this way, He clearly shows that individuals as well as the cycle of transmigration are unsubstantial.

X. *Unsubstantiality of all elements (sarvadharmāśūnyatā).*

(13) When it is stated that he does not see either the attributes of the Buddha or those of the Bodhisattva, he shows that the ten powers of the Buddha and so on are unsubstantial.

XI. *Unsubstantiality of the absolute (paramārthaśūnyatā).*

(14) Since it is stated that the attributes¹⁷ are imputed, therefore,

he declares that from the point of view of the absolute truth the attributes do not exist.

XII. Unsubstantiality of unreality (abhâvaśūnyatā).

(15) Since with every means he (the Bodhisattva) uproots the view that there is an ego, therefore the Blessed one has declared that in no way there exists a personality.

XIII. Unsubstantiality of reality (abhâvasvabhâvaśūnyatā).

(16) So when He says that all attributes (*rūpa*, etc.) are not born, then the Buddha, who knows the truth, has implicitly declared that the attributes are equally devoid of substance.

XIV, XV. Unsubstantiality of conditioned and unconditioned elements (saṃskṛta-asamskṛtaśūnyatā).

(17) By stating that there is neither growth nor diminution of the pure and impure elements, the existence of any moral category, either in the plane of the conditioned existence or in that of the unconditioned existence, is refuted.

XVI. Unsubstantiality of non-repudiation (anavakāraśūnyatā).

(18) The meritorious actions are unsubstantial, their conduciveness to *nirvāṇa* inherent in them is also imputed.

This is the summary of the various aspects of unsubstantiality.

THE TEN DISTRACTIONS

(19) When ¹⁸ mind is distracted by the ten mental distractions from the other thing (knowledge), then it is unfit, as it happens with the fools,¹⁹ for the realization of the monistic knowledge.

(20) The treatise of the gnosis is meant to eliminate reciprocally these distractions by having recourse to (the dialectics of) a thesis and an antithesis.²⁰ Those distractions have summarily been taught in the (following) way.

I. Distraction of non-existence (abhâvavikṣepa).

(21) So when the teacher said: "The Bodhisattva exists," ²¹ he, showing that the constituents of the human personality exist from a conventional point of view, refutes the distraction consisting in the imputation of the non-existence.

(22) According to this same rule in the *Aṣṭasahasrikā*, as well as in the other redactions of the gnosis, from the introductory verses up to the end, the imputation of non-existence must be refuted.

(23) These are not logical argumentations, rather suggestions are here given as regards what one must do ; logical reasons are to be learnt everywhere else, as for instance in the *Brahmajālasūtra* and such like books.²²

II. *Distraction of existence (bhāvanavikṣepa).*

(24) When he says : "I do not see any Bodhisattva," and with such like expressions largely employed, the Blessed One refutes the bewilderment consisting in the imputation of existence.²³

(25) In so far as he does not see in any way either a name or a field of experience²⁴ or the action or the constituents of human personality, therefore he says that "he does not see any Bodhisattva".

(26)²⁵ This is the refutation of all imputed²⁶ and this is the synthetical synopsis of the gnosis ; all appearances assumed as being object of knowledge are imputed in mind.

(27) The teaching, in the gnosis, is done by having recourse to a triple aspect of things ; imputed, relative, and absolute.²⁷

(28) With the expression "it does not exist", all imputed is refuted ; when holy texts say that things are like illusory appearances and employ these examples, they explain what is relative.

(29) With the fourfold purification²⁸ the absolute is explained. In the gnosis there is no other teaching of the Buddha than this.

(30) In the methodical explanation of the doctrine intended to be the antithesis of the ten imputations, the three aspects of the things (as above said) are to be understood as being enunciated here both in a summary and in an extensive manner.

(31) So, for instance, in the introductory part of the gnosis²⁹ on the basis of these three aspects of the existence : imputed, relative, and absolute, He (viz. the Buddha) refutes the distraction which consists in the imputation of non-existence.³⁰

(32) When the speakers³¹ say : "I do not see either the enlightened or the illumination", up to the end (of the book) the refutation of the imputations³² is to be understood.

III. *Distraction based upon positive assumption (adhyāropavikṣepa).*

(33)³³ When matter is essentially unsubstantial, then where or by what can the positive assumption that it is an essence take place ? It is understood that in the other expressions such a refutation is also implicit.

IV. *Distraction based upon negative assumption (apavâdaviṣṭepa).*

(34) When He says, in the course of the teaching, that unsubstantiality is not such on account of ³⁴ unsubstantiality, He expresses an absolute refutation of the negative imputation.

(35) The same applies to other expressions such as "The Buddha is similar to a magic appearance ³⁵; he is like a dream"; those who know should apply this same method even to the other expressions contained in the gnosis.

(36) The Buddha is said to be similar to a magic appearance because He coincides (with the monistic knowledge) itself. With the expression "He is like a magic appearance" the relative is indicated ³⁶

(37) That inborn knowledge which, being pure by its nature, is present even within the individuals, this very knowledge is expressed by the word Buddha; the Bodhisattva is to be understood as the Buddha.

(38) This knowledge, ³⁷ its nature being obstructed by nescience, appears quite different ³⁸ from what it really is, as a magic show; just as (what is dreamt in) a dream does not attain its aim (when one awakens), the same happens with it. ³⁹

(39) This ⁴⁰ is called refutation of the imputations consisting in the negative assumption of those who hold a negative view as regards monistic knowledge in so far as they understand in an improper way either that knowledge itself or the result (which is derived from the realization of truth).

V. *Distraction based upon assumption of identity (ekatvaviṣṭepa).*

(40) It is not logical to say that visible matter is unsubstantiality ⁴¹ since there is contradiction between the two statements; unsubstantiality is immaterial, while whatever is material is possessed of some form.

VI. *Distraction based upon assumption of diversity (nânâtvaṣṭepa).*

(41) In this way the logical impossibility of the imputation of the identity excludes the imputation of diversity; visible matter is in no ways different from unsubstantiality. ⁴²

(42) It is a creation of nescience that whatever does not exist appears (as existent). It is called nescience because it has the capacity of making to appear as real what in reality does not exist.

(43) The same thing indeed may be called visible matter and

gnosis as well ; the duality is in reality only identity ; this comes to the refutation of both imputations.

(44) The Buddha explained ⁴³ the logical reason of this statement in so far as things are by their essence pure and transcending perception. He considers also diversity (as inadmissible) since existence and non-existence are contradictory.⁴⁴

VII. Distraction based upon the assumption of an essence (svabhāva-vikṣepa).

(45) When it is said that this matter is purely nominal, but in fact it is devoid of essence, this does not allow any place for the imputation of any essence.⁴⁵

(46) When, then, it was before stated that matter is devoid of the essence of matter ⁴⁶, this was meant to refute a false judgment consisting in (admitting) the existence of such a thing as essence.

VIII. Distraction based upon the assumption of a diversity (viśeṣa-vikṣepa).

(47) When the Buddha states that he does not see either birth or disappearance of things,⁴⁷ He thus refutes the imputation that these things have a characteristic of their own.

IX. Distraction based upon the assumption that names correspond to things (yathārthanāmābhinivēśavikṣepa).

(48) Name is factitious ⁴⁸ and things, in so far as they are nameable, are imputed ; therefore it is impossible to think that the relation between the objects and their name corresponds to something essential.

(49) The attachment to external things as if they were real is proper to the fools and is the consequence of an error ; therefore this is a convention adopted in common life, but in reality there is nothing.

(50) Therefore in this world the name is imputed, but, in fact, there is no object expressible by it ; it is therefore an established fact that objects are imputed according to their names.

X. Distraction based upon the assumption that things correspond to names (yathārthanāmābhinivēśavikṣepa).

(51) The Blessed one also stated that the gnosis, the Buddha and the Bodhisattva are mere names and in this way He refuted the imputation that there exists something really existent.

(52) This is the refutation of the things as named by the name, but this does not mean that the object in itself is denied.⁴⁹ A similar determination of the things must be understood as (being applicable) to the other expressions (contained in the gnosis).

(53) The man who knows according to truth does not perceive anything as corresponding to the names. Therefore this refutation is made as regards the existence of the objects connoted by names, but it does not deny that sounds have a conventional purpose.

(54) But Subhūti, denying both the name as well as the object expressed by the name, said: "I do not see any name of the Bodhisattva."⁵⁰

(55) There does not exist in the gnosis any expression which should not be understood according to this method of interpretation; its various meanings are to be grasped in this way by men possessed of subtle intelligence.

(56) Gnosis is called counterfeit when one disregards in it the arguments undertaken or assumes in them a different meaning.

(57) This, and this only is the synopsis⁵¹ of the arguments contained in the gnosis; this meaning comes again and again even in connection with other arguments (dealt with in the books of the gnosis).

(58) If some merit has been acquired by me in making an exact summary of the gnosis called *Aṣṭasahasrikā*, this may help the creatures to reach the supreme gnosis which transcends this existence.

NOTES

¹ That is, transcending *grāhya* and *grāhaka*, object (*rūpa*, etc.) and subject.

² In so far as it is the result, viz. the identification with the supreme reality symbolically said to be the Buddha. This verse is quoted also in *Dohakoṣa śikā*, ed. Bagchi, p. 67.

³ By the Bodhisattva.

⁴ This means that the word *Prajñā-pāramitā* has a double meaning, one primary (*mukhya*), viz. monistic knowledge, and one secondary (*gauna*), viz. the text and the path.

⁵ Viz. the wrong assumption which one should avoid or any false statement as regards the gnosis.

⁶ This refers to the closing formulæ of the gnosis upon the merit which is derived from reciting, reading, etc., the gnosis.

⁷ The author proceeds to explain the first of the thirty-two arguments included in the gnosis, the *āśraya* or fundament, viz. the Buddha. In this way he establishes the validity of the gnosis in so far as it is the revelation of the Buddha. He then explains the traditional beginning of the *sūtras*: *evaṃ mayā śrutam*, "so I have heard."

In another palmleaf manuscript containing a fragment of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-kārikā-saptati* of Āryasaṅga there are, at the end of this treatise, a few lines which seem to be the commentary upon this verse of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-piṇḍārtha* :

“*āśrayo bhagavān | adhikāro bodhisattvagaṇam adhiḥkṛtya deśyate | karma, kriyā, prajñāpāramitāyām bodhisattvasyānuṣṭhānam | bhāvanā daśavidhaviḥkalpasāyāpanayanāyā | prabhedāḥ prajñāpāramitāyāḥ śoḍaśaparakārah | līgaṃ mārakarmāṇām avaiṣvartikabodhisattvānām ca | āpat, anarthaḥ saddharmapratikṣepādinaḥ dharmavyasamasamvartanīyaṃ karma saṁśayaś ca prajñāpāramitā | anuṣṭhānaḥ mahattvanirdeśaḥ prajñāpāramitāyāḥ | kṣayamātrāmbanānāpi sakaladānādimayapunyābhībhavakathanam | . . . prabhedāḥ śoḍaśaśūnyatā | vikalpā : abhāvabhāva-samāropāpavāda-ekatva-nānātva-śvabhāva-viśeṣa-yathānātmārthayathārthanāma iti piṇḍārtho 'śasāhasyām' ||*”

⁸ The *Saṅgītikārtā*, determining the time in which the revelation was heard (*ekasmin samaye*), denies that the things related belong to the time of the decadence of the law, and that they are not *Buddhavacana*, words of the Buddha.

⁹ They are therefore not included within the thirty-two principal items to be discussed.

¹⁰ Leaving aside such introductory things as briefly enunciated which are not peculiar to the *Prajñā-pāramitā*, the author comes to the essential arguments expounded in this text and he begins with a synopsis of the sixteen kinds of unsubstantiality. On the twenty aspects of *śūnyatā* see Obermiller in *IHQ*, vol. ix, 1933, p. 170.

¹¹ Since the individuals are of various capacities, as a rule of three kinds : inferior, intermediate, and superior.

¹² *ādhyātmikaśūnyatā* : “I do not see the Bodhisattva” is a sentence which comes very often in the *ASPP.*, f. i. p. 4, p. 25.

¹³ What is said of the things visible must be referred also to the other objects of sensorial perception : *bāhyāyatanaśūnyatā* ; *rūpaṃ rūpasvabhāvena śūnyam*. Cf. *ASPP.*, p. 10 : *rūpaṃ virahitaṃ rūpasvabhāvena*.

¹⁴ *bāhyādhyātmikaśūnyatā*, viz. the body, as a synthesis of external and internal experiences ; *tad-deha-pratiṣṭhā* occurs in *Mahāyāna-vibhāga*, 10, 17 ; the world is *bhajanaloka* = *śnod ajig rten* where the body dwells ; in the first part of the verse three kinds of *stoṇ pa ṇid* are therefore refuted : *bāhyādhyātmikaśūnyatā*, *mahāśūnyatā*, *lakṣaṇaśūnyatā* (*mts'an ṇid*) ; in the fourth *pāda* on the contrary the *śūnyatāśūnyatā*, *stoṇ pa ṇid stoṇ pa ṇid*.

¹⁵ “Nature” means *gotra*, *rigs* lineage.

¹⁶ Cf. *ASPP.*, p. 11 (Subhūti) : *ajātā hy anirjātā . . . sarvadharmāḥ*.

¹⁷ *dharma*, viz. *rūpa*, etc. Cf. *ASPP.*, p. 15 (Buddha) : *sarvadharmāḥ kalpitāḥ*.

¹⁸ Having so dealt with the sixteen kinds of unsubstantiality, the author comes to the ten mental distractions, *cittavikṣepa*.

¹⁹ In so far as they remain attached to *rūpa*, etc., and such like wrong assumptions.

²⁰ For instance non-existence as antithesis of existence and vice versa.

²¹ *Bodhisattvo bodhisattva eva san*. Same quotation in *Mahāyāna-sūtrāṅkāra*, xi, 77.

²² See Weller, *Über das Brahmajāla-sūtra*. *Asia Major*, vol. ix.

²³ Of *rūpa*, etc. : *Bodhisattvaṃ na samanupaśyāmi . . .*

²⁴ Viz. the *mārga* of the Bodhisattva that is ultimately the gnosis.

²⁵ One may object that this second alternative is contradictory to the first, and therefore the author replies with this stanza.

²⁶ *skandha*, *dhātu*, *āyatana*, etc.

²⁷ An example of the first is the arising of the notions of subject and object in the impure knowledge as that of blue, etc. ; of the second when in the monistic

knowledge, by the agency of the nescience, duality arises ; of the third, knowledge purified of the duality of subject and object. The sources on this topic are numerous : La Vallée Poussin, *Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi*, Paris, 1929. Lévi, *Matériaux pour servir à l'étude du système Vijñaptimātratā*, Paris, 1932.

²⁸	<i>rañ bñin gyis rnam par byañ</i>	<i>praktiviyavadāna</i>
	<i>dri ma med pai rnam par byañ</i>	<i>vāimalyavyavadāna</i>
	<i>dmigs pai rnam par byañ</i>	<i>āmbanavyavadāna</i>
	<i>rgyu mi'un pai rnam par byañ</i>	<i>sāpakṣavyavadāna</i>

- (a) all beings and dharmas are, like the Tathāgata, devoid of any essence
 (b) monistic knowledge which is born in the yogins meditating through the dialectics of the contraries
 (c) the teaching of the gnosiss
 (d) all dharmas are analogical to the absolute

Upon these four purifications see : *Mahāyāna-saṅgraha-śāstra*, trad. par E. Lamotte, Louvain, 1938, p. 121 ; *Madhyāntavibhāgaśāstra*, ed. par Yamaguchi, p. 112 ; *Madhyānta-vibhāga*, transl. by Tscherbatsky, Moscow, 1936.

²⁹ The passage of the *Aṣṭasahasrikā* referred to here is : *pratibhātu te, Subhūte, bodhisattvānāṃ mahāsattvānāṃ prajñāpāramitām ārabhya yathā bodhisattvā mahāsattvāḥ prajñāpāramitām nirvāyur* (p. 4). According to Triratnadaśa *pratibhātu te Subhūte* refers to *paratantra*, the literal meaning of the sentence to *parikalpita, nirvāyur* to *pariniṣpanna*.

³⁰ In so far as by the fact that these three aspects exist, it is impossible to state that there is absolute non-existence.

³¹ The Buddha, Subhūti, etc.

³² Because the fools could take literally the words of the *Prajñāpāramitā* and consequently think that at least in those cases a subject and an object exist.

³³ This is introduced in order to answer to the eventual question : Why is the *parikalpita* refuted and not the *pariniṣpanna* ? The reply is that from the point of view of absolute truth, there being no substantiality in anything whatever, there is no place for refutation either ; *śūnyam rūpasvabhāvena*, cf. v. 9.

³⁴ *na śūnyatayā śūnyam*.

³⁵ The Buddha himself is nothing but monistic knowledge, which is the same as the knowledge inborn within the particular selves, though obstructed by ignorance. *ASPP*, p. 39 (Subhūti) : *samyaksambuddhatvam māyopamaṃ*.

³⁶ In so far as it is under the operation of *avidyā*. This implies that it is wrong to state that nothing exists. The thing which is called monistic knowledge is not only identical with Buddha, but it is the kernel (*śūn po*) of individuals.

³⁷ Some may argue that were this monistic knowledge within the individuals, it should be manifest, perceptible. And therefore this stanza is introduced.

³⁸ On account of the imputation of subject and object, etc.

³⁹ This implies that all conventional knowledge (*fo*s and *bsam*, learned or meditated upon) has no value when one awakens (gets the real knowledge).

⁴⁰ *Viz. na śūnyatayā śūnyam*.

⁴¹ It refers to the sentence in the *Praj.P.* : *yad rūpasya śūnyatā na tad rūpaṃ*, and refutes the possible assumption of an identity of *rūpa* and *śūnya*.

⁴² *rūpa* and *śūnya* cannot be distinct because this would imply duality ; while, nothing is admissible but non-duality : *ASPP*, p. 16 (Subhūti) : *na hy anyā sā māyā anyat tad rūpaṃ*.

⁴³ Even on the basis of logical grounds it is evident that the knowledge pure of any *vikalpa* is the contrary of the distractions. It is pure on account of its being *praktiprabhāsvara* ; it transcends perceptibility, because such a thing as identity and so on cannot be seen.

⁴⁴ The non-perceptibility gives the opportunity to Triratnadâsa to summarize the idealistic doctrine of knowledge as expounded by Dinnâga and his school, and to ascertain its self-feeling. On this discussion one may refer to Tscherbatsky, *Buddhist Logic*, Leningrad, 1930, vol. ii, pp. 384 ff.

⁴⁵ *nâma-mâtram idam yad rūpaṃ*; cf. *ASPP.*, 31 (Subhūti): *nāmāśritatvāt sarvadharmāṇām*.

⁴⁶ *rūpaṃ svabhāvena śūnyam*, v. 9; viz. matter is devoid of any proper and general character: *rañ dan p'yi mts'an ñid*.

⁴⁷ *notpāda*, vide v. 12.

⁴⁸ *kṛtrinaṃ nâma*.

⁴⁹ *vastu* is evidently = *paramârtha* as for instance in *Nyāya-bindu*. See Tscherbatsky, op. cit., p. 68. On *vastu* see the long discussion in *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*, ed. Wogihara, pp. 45 ff.

⁵⁰ Nor, it is implied, any Bodhisattva. Cf. *ASPP.*, p. 25 (Subhūti): *nāhaṃ tad dharmaṃ samanupaśyāmi yasyaitan nāmadheyaṃ yaduta bodhisattva*, etc.

⁵¹ Viz. the thirty-two arguments as stated in this book, *arthântarāśrita*, viz. according to the various questions put to the Buddha as regards *skandha*, *bodhisattva*, Buddha, etc.

TIBETAN TRANSLATION

Šes rab p'a rol p'yin gñis med
ye šes de ni de bžin gšegs
bsgrub bya don de dan ldan pas
gžuñ lam dag la dei sgra yin (1)

rten dan dbaṅ du ¹ bya ba dan
las ni sgom pa dan bcas dan
rab dbye rtags dan ltuñ ba dan
p'an yon bcas par yan dag brjod (2)

dad ldan ajug pai yan lag tu
ston pa dbaṅ po ak'or dan ni
yul dus ñag kyañ ñes bstan pa
sdud po rañ ñid ts'ad ma ni (3)

rab grub p'yir yin ajig rten na
yul dan dus kyis ñer mts'on žiñ
dbaṅ por bcas pa smra ba yi
smra po ts'ad mar rjes su rtogs (4)

ts'ig p'rad bdag t'os la sogs pa
aḍi dag t'ams cad žar la ni ²

brjod pa yin te gtso boi don
gsum bcu rtsa gñis de dag ñid (5)

stoñ pa ñid kyi dbye ba ni
rnam pa bcu drug brgyad stoñ par
rim pa ji bžin brjod pa ni
gžan gyis bstan par šes par bya (6)

de ltar ji skad bšad don gyi
brgyad stoñ ađir don ma ts'an med
ađir gžun bsdus pa yin ađod de
don ni ji skad brjod de ñid (7)

byañ c'ub sems dpa' de ñid du
nas ma mt'oñ žes t'ub pas gsuñs
za po nañ gi dños rnam kyi
stoñ pa ñid ni de yis brjod (8)

gzugs ni gzugs kyi rañ bžin gyis
stoñ pa žes ni gsuñs pai p'yir
bza' bar bya ba p'yi yin no
mc'ed rnam kyañ ađir bgag go (9)

gzugs sogs med na ¹ de yin no
lus gnas mts'an ñid zad pai don
rtogs ñid gañ gis de mt'oñ ba
de yañ nañ ba yin p'yir med (10)

gañ p'yir nañ rnam stoñ ñid na
rañ bžin yañ ni stoñ pa ñid
ađi ltar rnam šes dañ bžin rigs
brtse dañ šes rab bdag ñid yin (11)

sems can skye med ađag pa yañ
med ces sogs kyis sems can dañ
ađ'or ba dag ni stoñ ñid gtsor
des ni gsal bar bstan pa yin (12)

sañs rgyas c'os dañ de bžin du
byañ c'ub sems dpa'i c'os rnam ni

¹ Ch. 色等相.

mi mt'oñ žes bya la sogs kyi
stobs bcu la sogs stoñ par bstan (13)

gañ p'yir c'os rnams so so ni
so sor brtags žes rab brjod pa
des na c'os rnams don dam du
yod min žes kyañ brjod pa yin (14)

gañ p'yir bdag sogs lta ba ni
c'en po gcod mdsad de yi p'yir
bcom ldan aḍas kyis rnam kun tu
gañ zag bdag med ñid du gsuñs (15)

c'os rnams t'ams cad ma skyes žes
brjod par mdzad pas de bžin du
de ñid rigs pas rnams kun tu
c'os kyi bdag med gsuñs pa yin (16)

k'a na ma t'o bcas med rnams
p'el dan ñams pa med pai p'yir
aḍus byas aḍus ma byas pa yi
dge ba rnams ni gsal ba yin (17)

dge ba rnams ni stoñ pa na
der brten mi zad de bžin du ¹
gžag ñid de ni stoñ ñid kyi
rab tu dbye ba bsdus pa žes (18)

sems kyi rnam par gyeñ pa bcus
gžan nas sems ni rnam gyeñs par
byis pa rnams la gñis med kyi
ye šes sgrub pai skal ba med (19)

de dag p'an ts'un gñen po dan
mi mt'un p'yogs kyis bzlog pai p'yir
šes rab p'a rol tu p'yin gžuñ ste
de rnams kyañ ni bsdus tu bstan (20)

ston pas p'uñ po kun rdsob pa
gzigs p'yir byañ sems dpa' yod ces

¹ Ch. 彼出亦無盡.

gañ gsuñs pa yis dños med kyi ¹
ston pai gyeñ pa agog pa yin (21)

adis ni brgyad ston la sogs su
dañ poi ñag nas brtsams nas ni
rdzogs pai bar ni sgrub pa yis
dños med ² rtog pa agag bya yin (22)

adi dag gtan ts'igs dag yin te
bya ba tsam žig skyos pa yin
rigs par ts'añs pai dra ba sogs
mdo kun tu ni šes par bya (23)

bdag gis byañ c'ub sems dpa' ni
ma mt'on žes sogs rgyas rnam kyis
bcom ldan adas pa kun rtog pa ³
ak'rul pa agog par mdzad pa yin (24)

gañ p'yir miñ yañ ma mt'on žin
spyod yul dañ ni bya ba dañ
p'un po kun nas de bžin des
byañ c'ub sems dpa' mt'on ba med (25)

adi ni brtags pa agog pa yin
de adra bsduš pai lta ba ste
šes bya ñid du blo bžugs pai
rnam pa t'ams cad brtags pa yin (26)

šes rab p'a rol p'yin par ni
bstan pa gsum la yañ dag brten
brtags pa dañ ni gžan dbaň dañ
yoñs su grub pa k'o na'o (27)

med ces bya la sogs ts'ig gis
brtags pa t'ams cad agog pa ste
sgyu ma la sogs dpe rnam kyis
gžan gyi dbaň ni yañ dag bstan (28)

¹ Xyl. : *kyis*. Ch. 無相.

² Ch. 無相.

³ Ch. : adds. 有相 = *bhāva* as in Sanskrit.

rnam par byed pa bži yis ni
 yoṅs su grub pa rab tu bsgrags
 šes rab p'a rol tu p'yin pa ni
 saṅs rgyas kyis ni gžan bstan med (29)

kun rtog gyeṅ par rnam bcu yi
 mi mt'un p'yogs bstan ts'ul la ni
 gsum po bsdus daṅ so so ba
 aḍir brjod par ni šes bya ste (30)

dper na grub daṅ gžan dbaṅ daṅ
 rab tu brtags pas ṅag daṅ por
 dños po med par raṅ bžin gyis
 rnam par gyeṅ pa sel ba bžin (31)

des na saṅs rgyas de bžin du
 byaṅ c'ub ma t'ob par brjod pa
 yoṅs su rdzogs pai bar gyis aḍir
 brtags rnams bsal bar šes par bya (32)

ño bos stoṅ pai gzugs rnams la
 gaṅ du 'am gaṅ gis sgro aḍogs agyur
 des na ṅag gžan rnams la yaṅ
 de bzlog par ni rtogs par bya (33)

stoṅ ñid kyis ni mi stoṅ žes
 bya bai ṅag ni stoṅ pa na
 skur pa yi ni rnam rtogs rnams
 t'ams cad du ni sel ba gsuṅs (34)

de bžin saṅs rgyas sgyu aḍra daṅ
 de ni rmi aḍra žes bya yaṅ
 ts'ul aḍi ñid ni mk'as rnams kyis
 ṅag gžan dag la'aṅ šes par bya (35)

gži mt'un pa yis rgyal ba ni
 sgyu ma lta bur rab brjod ciṅ
 sgyu ma lta bu la sogs pai
 sgra rnams kyis kyaṅ gžan dbaṅ brjod (36)

so soi skye boi šes pa daṅ
 raṅ bžin gyis ni rnam byaṅ ba

de la sañs rgyas sgrar brjod de
byañ c'ub sems dpa' la rgyal bžin (37)

ma rig pas ni dbaň byas te
raň gis raň bžin rab bsgribs nas
sgyu ma lta bur gžan du snaň
abras bu rmi lam bžin du spoň (38)

gñis med gžan du snaň ba na
abras bu la yaň skur rnams kyis
skur bai rnam par rtog rnams la
skur bar byed par ađi brjod do (39)

p'an ts'un du ni ađal bai p'yir
gzugs ni stoň ñid yin mi rigs
stoň ñid raň bžin med ñid la ¹
gzugs ni rnam pa daň abrel ba (40)

des na gcig tu rnam rtog la
gnod gyur gzugs de stoň ñid las
ji lta bar yaň gžan min pas
t'a dad kyi ni rnam rtog ađog (41)

gaň p'yir ma rig par p'rul pa
de ni miň pa k'o na snaň
med pa stoň par nus pas na
de ni ma rig ces brjod do (42)

raň bžin de ñid šes rab kyi
p'a rol p'yin pa žes kyaň brjod
gnis ađi ñid ni gñis med pa
rnam rtog gñis la gnod par yin (43)

rigs pa gaň gsuňs rnam dag p'yir
de bžin mi dmigs p'yir daň ni
dños daň dnös med ađal p'yir yaň
t'a dad ñid kyaň mt'oň ba yin (44)

gzugs ađi miň tsam de ñid du
raň gi ño bo yod min pas

¹ Ch. 無色無空.

de na ño bo ñid du ni
rnam rtog rnams kyi go skabs sel (45)

gzugs ni gzugs kyi rañ bžin kyis
stoñ par sñar brjod gañ yin pa
de ni rañ gi ño bo yis
sgro adogs rnam rtog agog byed yin (46)

c'os rnams kyi ni skye ba dañ
agag pa mt'oñ ba med ces gañ
bcom ldan adas kyis gsuñs pa des
de yi k'yad par rnam rtog bsal (47)

gañ p'yir miñ bcos brjod bya yis
c'os de dag kyañ brtags yin pas
sgra don dag gi abrel ba ni
ño bo ñid du des mi bžed (48)

byis pai p'yi rol don du ni
mñon žes ak'rul pas sgyiñ ba yin
t'a sñad adi yañ de bžin te
adi la don aga' yod ma yin (49)

des adir ji ltar miñ byas pa
de ltar brjod byai dños po de
yod min dañ p'yir miñ ji bžin
don du rtog pa adod ma yin (50)

bden don rnam rtog sel ba na
šes rab p'a rol p'yin pa dañ
sañs rgyas de bžin byañ sems dpa'
miñ tsam žes ni rab tu gsuñs (51)

adi ni sgra don agog pa ste
dños po sel bar byed pa min
de bžin du ni ñag gžan la'n
don rnams nes par šes par bya (52)

de ñid rig pas miñ rnams kun
don ji lta bar yañ dag tu
dmigs pa med ñid de yi p'yir
sgra adi zlog par byed ma yin (53)

rab abyor gyis ni sgra dañ sgrai
 don ñid gñi ga agog pa na
 de yis byañ c'ub sems dpai miñ
 ma mt'oñ žes ni brjod par agyur (54)

šes rab p'a rol p'yin ñag gañ
 ađi tsam gyis rtogs min pa med
 'on kyañ ađi dag de šes pa
 rtsams kyis žib moi blo las dpyod (55)

skabs kyi don ni spoñ ba dañ
 don gžan rtog pa gañ yin pa
 don ni šes rab p'a rol tu
 p'yin par gzugs brñan yin par ađod (56)

šes rab p'a rol p'yin brten can
 bsdus don ađi tsam ñid yin te
 slar yañ don gžan la brten nas
 don de ñid'ni bzlas pa yin (57)

šes rab p'a rol p'yin ma ni
 brgyad stoñ yañ dag bsdus pa yis
 bsod nams t'ob gañ des skye'o
 šes rab kyi p'a rol p'yin gyur cig (58)

aṇ'ags pa šes rab kyi p'a rol tu p'yin ma bsdus pai ts'ig
 le'ur byas pa slob dpon p'yogs kyi glañ poi žal sña nas
 mdzad pa.

The Early History of the Gotras

By JOHN BROUGH

(Concluded from p. 45, Parts 1 and 2, 1946.)

A PART from the evidence already discussed, the Sūtra period yields very little information for the study of the *gotras*. The Buddhist and Jaina canonical works, however, do supply some valuable confirmation of the general picture we have been able to extract from the Brahmanical texts. These canons as we know them now are admittedly late, and for the most part may be taken to reflect the life of a different geographical region from that of the Sūtras. Yet they must contain much genuine tradition of the lifetimes of the respective founders, and it is therefore of considerable interest that the gotra-names recorded agree with the Brahmanical sources. As is well known, the Buddha was a Gautama (see p. 84); and since the Gautamas were included in the Angiras group, he is also on occasion addressed as Āngirasa. In addition, numerous Brahmins appear in the Pali books, with most of the commoner gotra-names.¹

The Jaina founder Mahāvīra was a Kāśyapa, and his chief disciple, the brahmin Indrabhūti a Gautama; while the list of pontiffs (*sthavirāvalī*) given in the *Kalpa-sūtra*² of Bhadrabāhu shows many gotra-names, almost all the normal Brahmanical ones. This is in sharp contrast to the later Jaina *gotras* recorded in innumerable medieval inscriptions, where it is clear that the word had come to denote a religious grouping, namely a subdivision of the *gaccha*, "denomination" or sect. The names of these later *gotras* may indeed have been taken originally from family names, but they have no connection with the old clan-system.

The Brahmins, on the other hand, have retained the old gotras—at least the major exogamous divisions—down to the present day.

¹ Translators from the Pali have not infrequently given as personal names such forms as "the brahmin Vacchagotta", etc. It should of course be "brahmin of the Vaccha (Vātsya) clan". The translators have at least the excuse that some of the later Pali commentators seem to interpret such names in the same way

² Ed. Jacobi, *Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. vii, 1881.

In the inscriptions of all periods, where a Brahman's gotra is given, it is almost invariably one of those well known in the Sūtra lists. Less often, a pravara is given in an inscription; and here, too, the agreement is for the most part exact. There are some exceptions: for example, the rather comic one of a certain Lāhada-śarman¹ who claims to belong to the Garga-gotra, and gives as his pravara-names Garga, Angiras, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, and Vārhaspati (*sic*, read Bṛhaspati). Here the names Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni have of course nothing to do with the Gargas, and the most plausible explanation of such a hopeless confusion of three distinct families would seem to be that the person, or one of his ancestors, was simply a parvenu laying claim to a fictitious brahmanhood, but lacking the knowledge of the clan-organization necessary to uphold his claim.

In so far then as orthodox brahmanical society was concerned, the system had already by the time of the Sūtras attained its final form, and since that time it has not shown any fundamental alterations. It is true that the names of most of the minor subdivisions of the gotra-gaṇas were allowed to fall into oblivion. But this is not surprising, since these subdivisions had no vital social significance. It was of no importance for the practical purpose of obeying the marriage restrictions to know that one person belonged to the Śucivṛkṣas, another to the Vyāghrapādas. The important point was that both of these families were included in the major gotra of the Vasiṣṭhas, and as such could have no intermarriage.

It must be admitted that there is no source of information prior to the Sūtras which is in any way comparable to these; and for the history of the system in the pre-Sūtra period we are forced to rely on chance references in literature which has no especial reason to supply explicit data. It has, indeed, been suggested that the lack of mention in the R̥gveda is of itself sufficient reason for believing that the Vedic Indians did not practise clan-exogamy. The danger of the argumentum ex silentio in the present case may be seen if we consider that there is no mention of exogamous restrictions at all in the purely ritual parts of the Śrauta-Sūtras. If, therefore, our only literary relic of this period had been the Śrauta-Sūtras proper, we should have been completely ignorant

¹ Copper-plate grant of *saṃvat* 1188, *Ind. Ant.*, xix, p. 252.

of the existence of the exogamous system at that time. There is, in fact, no direct evidence at all for exogamy before the Sūtras. But it is reasonable to urge that the Hymns and Brāhmaṇas are not the type of works which one would expect to mention it, especially if the rule was so universally acknowledged that such mention would have seemed unnecessary to the authors.

But if evidence for exogamy is lacking, there is nevertheless a considerable body of evidence pointing to the existence from very early times of the clans which in the Sūtra period we know to have formed exogamous units. It is therefore probable that they were at that time also exogamous, since it is easier to assume that the practice of exogamy grew up with the clans themselves, rather than to suggest that at some intermediate period the exogamous rule supervened upon an already existing clan-structure.

In the first place, although the pravara-adhyāyas of the Sūtras are the first classified account, there is none the less a fair body of evidence which enables us to follow to some extent the growth of the system of pravaras. There are in the Ṛgveda numerous cases in which the names of famous Ṛṣis are used in precisely the same manner and form, and with the same intent, as the latter pravaras. But for the most part these instances differ from the pravaras proper in that they group together Ṛṣis from different gotras, e.g. jamadagnivat, vasiṣṭhavat;¹ priyamedhavat, atrivat, virūpavat, angirasvat.² Nevertheless, the frequent occurrence of the single name Atrivat in the fifth book, and cases like Jamadagnivat alone,³ can hardly fail to be connected historically with the pravaras in the form spoken by the Adhvaryu in the later ritual. In addition to such cases, however, there are two instances in the Ṛgveda which clearly show that the classified system of pravaras was already being evolved. The first is 8.102.4: *aurvabhrguvāc chūcim apnavānavād ā huve agnīm samudrāvāsasam*. "I call on Agni, the pure, the sea-dweller, after the fashion of Aurva, Bhṛgu, and Apnavāna." These three names occur in the pravaras of the Bhṛgu proper in later times, and are here clearly a pravara in embryo. Even clearer is the other case, from the so-called Subheṣaja khila, where are found the names *apnavānavad aurvavad bhṛguvaj jamadagniva(t)*⁴ This latter hymn is certainly late among the

¹ 7.96.3.

² 1.45.3.

³ 9.97.51.

⁴ RV. khila 4.9.2, Scheftelowitz, *Die Apokryphen des RV.*, p. 124. The remainder of the stanza is unfortunately lost.

Rgveda collection, as its elaborate metre shows. But its material is utilized by the Yajus texts, and the variant readings make it probable that they are the borrowers. We may, therefore, assume that in the later period of the Rgveda, or at all events before the final redaction of the Yajus texts, the system of family *pravaras* was gradually taking shape. It seems unlikely that it had already crystallized to the extent to which we find it in the Sūtras. The difference in the order of the names in the Subhēṣaja-hymn and in the Sūtras may, of course, be explained as poetic licence ; but in the view of the invariable order of the Sūtra-lists, it is more probable that it is a sign that the system was still fluid. Moreover, it is noteworthy that both the Rgvedic examples are of *pravaras* which in later times belonged to the Jamadagni-Bhrgus, who are invariably placed first in Sūtra-lists. It is therefore probable that it was within this family that the use of the stereotyped *pravara* was first developed. This would accord well with the fact that the Bhrgus, as is well known (and with them the Angirases, who follow them in the Sūtra-lists) are particularly associated in tradition with the fire-ritual. Moreover as the Jamadagnis are late-comers among the Rgvedic people, they may well have introduced the use of the *pravara*-recitation to a society already organized in *gotras*.

It is, of course, impossible to argue that the *gotras* themselves came into existence at the same time as the *pravaras* were developed. The existence of the *pravaras* at any given time implies the existence of the *gotras*, but the converse is obviously not true. It would hardly be necessary to labour this point, but for the fact that at least one writer, S. V. Karandikar in his book *Hindu Exogamy* (Bombay, 1929), has suggested that the unsystematic invocations of Agni in *pravara*-style in the Rgveda go to show that the *gotra*-system had not yet come into being. Karandikar, in fact, believed that the exogamous organization was of comparatively late origin, and that it developed out of ritual corporations rather than kinship groups, and that originally a man was at perfect liberty to choose for himself the *gotra* to which he was to belong. His arguments, however, are far from being conclusive, and his contention that the Brahmins borrowed the idea of exogamy at a late period from the aboriginal inhabitants, and proceeded to apply it to these ritual groups, still remains in need of convincing demonstration. The theory is further contradicted by the evidence to which we shall now turn.

The most important clues for the pre-Sūtra history of the system are supplied by the various differences in ritual and social practices which the later gotras preserved. We know, for example, that in the Sūtra period the major gotras were distinguished by the mode of dressing the hair. In the *Parīṣiṣṭa* to the *Gobhila Gṛhya-Sūtra*, ascribed to Gobhila's son, the description occurs :

*dakṣiṇa-kapardā vāsiṣṭhā ātreyaś trikapardīnaḥ
angīrasaḥ pañcacūḍā mundaḥ bhṛgavaḥ śikhino 'nye.*¹

"The Vāsiṣṭhas wear a braid on the right side, the Ātreyas a three-fold braid, the Angīrasas a five-fold top-knot; the Bhṛgus are shaven, the rest wear a crest." It is therefore of the first importance that in the *Ṛgveda* the Vasiṣṭhas are described as "dakṣiṇatas-kapardāḥ".²

More important is the well-known ritual divergence between the families who honoured Tanūnapāt, and those who preferred Narāsaṃsa. At the fore-offerings at an *iṣṭi* or an animal sacrifice, the second offering is to Agni under one or other of these two names; and accordingly in the hymns which accompany these offerings at the animal sacrifice, the so-called Āpri-hymns, there occurs in the second stanza an invocation either to Tanūnapāt or to Narāsaṃsa, or else both occur in separate stanzas, clearly intended as alternatives according to the gotra of the sacrificer. In the Sūtras, again, the prescription is laid down that certain gotras worship the one deity, and the rest the other. Unfortunately, the various Sūtras do not entirely agree among themselves in the distribution of the gotras between Tanūnapāt and Narāsaṃsa. Thus, in the Narāsaṃsa category Baudhāyana³ places only the Vasiṣṭhas, Āpastamba only the Vasiṣṭhas and Śunakas.⁴ Kātyāyana adds that some also give the Atris.⁵ In addition to these three Āśvalāyana gives also the Vādhryaśvas⁶; and the Kaṇvas and Samkr̥tis as well as the Vādhryaśvas are added by Śāṅkhāyana,⁷ and by the Nidāna and Anupada Sūtras.⁸ In the Baudhāyana pravara-adhyāya (§ 54) the Vādhūlas and Yaskas are given along with all those already mentioned. The extraordinary inversion

¹ *Gṛhya-saṃgraha*, ii, 40, in *ZDMG.* 35, p. 576. Roth, *Essays on the Veda*, p. 120; Müller, *Hist. of Ancient Sansk. Lit.*, p. 53; Weber, *IST.* x.95.

² *RV.* 7.33.1.

³ *BSS.* 10.11.

⁴ *ĀpSS.* xxiv.12.16.

⁵ *KSS.* xix.6.8.9.

⁶ *ĀSS.* i.5.21.

⁷ *SSS.* i.7.3.

⁸ See Weber, *Indische Studien*, x, pp. 89 ff., for a fuller collection of the relevant passages.

of the usual rule in the Lātyāyana-Sūtra,¹ where the Atris, Vasiṣṭhas, Śunakas, Kaṇvas, Saṃkrtis, and Vādhryaśvas are said to use the Tanūnapāt verse, remains unexplained. It can hardly be that the author was ignorant of the usual custom, and in a case of this sort, textual corruption seems most improbable. It is possible that the singers of the Sāma-veda deliberately prescribed the contrary usage when the hymn was used as a Sāman, by way of compensation for the normal usage in other parts of the ritual. The fact that the Nidāna and Anupada Sūtras agree with the majority, however, rather than with the Lātyāyana, makes such an explanation doubtful.

Two opposing interpretations of the situation have been offered. Weber² held that the range of Narāśaṃsa worshippers steadily increased, "since as time passes, the number of families increases Sūtra by Sūtra." This is certainly dubious. There is no positive evidence at all to bear it out, and the relative chronology of the Sūtras implied by such a theory is far from certain. Moreover, the evidence of the R̥gveda seems to contradict it. Schwab, on the other hand, followed by Hillebrandt and Keith,³ held that in the end the tradition of the Jamadagni family prevailed, and their invocation of Tanūnapāt was accepted by all the families, except that the Vasiṣṭhas remained faithful to Narāśaṃsa. This is presumably derived from such passages as Āśvalāyana, Śrauta-sūtra 3.2.6-8, where RV. x. 110 is prescribed for all families other than the Vasiṣṭhas and Śunakas. It is necessary to remark, however, that even when the Jamadagni hymn was used by other families, those who normally invoked Narāśaṃsa were expected to substitute a Narāśaṃsa verse for the second verse of the hymn, normally, according to Śāṅkhāyana,⁴ the second verse of the Vasiṣṭha hymn. It seems, therefore, that there is not sufficient evidence for the conclusion that the invocation to Narāśaṃsa did in fact tend to die out. Rather, the variations between the Sūtra prescriptions would seem to point to differences, possibly local, in the degree of stringency with which the family customs were observed; and it is certainly possible that a reformist tendency was at work

¹ Lātyāyana, 6.4.13-16; see also Caland, *Pañcaviṃśa-brāhmaṇa*, trs., p. 414.

² Loc. cit., p. 92.

³ Schwab, *Altindisches Tieropfer*, p. 91; Hillebrandt, *Vedic Mythology*, ii, 102; Keith, *Rel. and Phil. of the Veda*, p. 165.

⁴ ŚSS. 5.16.

in the later days of the Sūtra period. Thus, the Baudhāyana-sūtra, which is certainly early, gives the smallest number of Narāśaṃsa worshippers, while the pravara-appendix to the same Sūtra, which in the form we possess it is probably considerably later than the main body of the work, gives the largest number. To this extent, then, Weber's theory of an increase of Narāśaṃsa worshippers rather than a decline seems to be nearer to the facts of the case than the opposing view.

The chief point, however, which tells against Weber's theory as it stands is the situation in the Ṛgveda. For the history of the gotras, it is important to note that the Sūtra authors recognized the application of the various Āpṛī hymns of the Ṛgveda by the gotras of their own time. Āśvalāyana, for example, adds to the prescription given above, "yatharṣi vā," that is to say, "alternatively, the Āpṛī hymn of one's own particular ṛṣi (-family) is used," and the commentator Gārgya Nārāyaṇa quotes in illustration the first words of the ten Āpṛī hymns from the Ṛgveda, ascribing each to one of the gotras. Max Müller¹ drew attention to the fact that there are in the Ṛgveda ten Āpṛī hymns, attributed to authors of various families, and scattered more or less evenly throughout the ten books. These, together with their traditional authors, as given in the Anukramaṇī, are :—

i, 13	Medhātithi Kāṇva
i, 142	Dīrghatamas Aucathya
i, 188	Agastya
ii, 3	Gr̥tsamada Śaunahotra
iii, 4	Viśvāmitra Gāthina
v, 5	Vasuśruta Ātreya
vii, 2	Vasiṣṭha Maitrāvaruṇi
ix, 5	Asita (or Devala) Kāśyapa
x, 70	Sumitra Vādhryaśva
x, 110	Rāma Jāmadagnya

Of these hymns, the first two contain verses addressed both to Tanūnapāt and to Narāśaṃsa; those of Gr̥tsamada, Ātreya, Vasiṣṭha, and Vādhryaśva have Narāśaṃsa only; and the others have Tanūnapāt only. The agreement therefore with the Sūtra prescriptions as to the families which honoured these deities is

¹ *Hist. of Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, pp. 403 ff.

remarkably close. It is of course always open to doubt the authenticity of the ascriptions of the *Anukramāṇī*, and it is not necessary to believe that the individuals mentioned above were in fact the real authors of the hymns. But whether they were or not, it is certain that the hymns in question were the especial property of the families to which these seers belonged, that is, the *Kāṇvas*, *Gautamas*, *Āgastyas*, *Śunakas*, *Vaiśvāmitras*, *Ātreyas*, *Vāsiṣṭhas*, *Kāśyapas*, *Mitrayus*, and *Jāmadagnyas*. Müller drew the conclusion that at the time of the final redaction of the *Ṛgveda*, these ten families considered it a matter of moment that their own *Āpṛi*-hymns should be included. It is possible, however, to go further, and to see in the occurrence of the *Āpṛi*-hymns strong evidence for a theory that the clan-descent was continuous from *Ṛgvedic* times, and that the *gotra* of the *Vāsiṣṭhas*, for example, as we know it from the *Sūtra* accounts, is the lineal descendant of the *Vāsiṣṭhas* of the seventh book of the *Ṛgveda*. It has long been a commonplace that the so-called "family-books" of the *Ṛgveda* are to be attributed not to individual authors, *Vasiṣṭha*, etc., but rather to "*Vasiṣṭhidæ*".¹ But writers have continued to talk of family books and hymn-families, and the picture conjured up by such a terminology is altogether misleading. Whatever scholars may have intended, there can be no doubt that the reader has tended to consider the families of the *Vasiṣṭhas* and the others as in some way analogous to, say, the family of the *Bachs* in German music, that is, as small families of bards within the community, in which the profession of poet was hereditary. But if we take into account the status of the *gotras* of the *Sūtra* lists, it seems very much more likely that these books are to be considered the property of clans rather than of families in the narrower sense. In other words, we must understand the *Vasiṣṭhas* and the others to form the whole of the *Ṛgvedic* society—at least in so far as the *Brahmans* are concerned—and not simply small individual families.

The position of the other ranks of society is unfortunately not at all certain. As is well known, the *Ṛgveda* shows clear traces of the emergence of the *Rājanyas* and common people as distinct classes, probably less rigid than the later *varṇas*. In the later period, the authors are unanimous in claiming membership of *gotras* for *Brahmans* only. At the present day, castes of every rank in society

¹ Oldenberg, "Über die Liedverfasser des *Ṛgveda*," *ZDMG.*, xlii (1888), pp. 119 ff.

can have exogamous gotras, often named after those of the Brahmans, and some doubtless directly imitated from these. Naturally the Brahmans would lay claim to any possible exclusive distinction, and the assertion of Brahmanical writings that Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas had no *gotra* cannot be taken as proof that these classes did not earlier belong to the same gotras as the Brahmans. It would be quite in accord with the picture of society in the R̥gveda if we assume that the hard and fast differentiation into *varṇas* had not yet set in its later mould, so that in a real sense Kṣatriyas and commoners could be considered as members of the same clans as the Brahmans. One may see in the hymns themselves—the ability to compose them, to transmit them, and to use them in the difficult sacrificial ritual—a powerful incentive towards the formation of a distinct priestly caste within the separate clans; while the hymn-collections could still quite validly be considered the property of the clans as a whole.

In the Sūtra-period, the normal rule at the pravara-ceremony is that a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya should name the pravara-ancestors of his *purohita*. It has always been a matter for argument whether for this reason these classes should follow the same rule of exogamy as did the Brahmans. It is on the face of it absurd that marriage should be ruled, not by one's own family connections, but by those of the family priest. It is true that some writers held that the marriage prohibition did not apply in the case of Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas,¹ but in general the rule seems to have been followed, and at the present day we find cases of Kṣatriyas of a particular purohita's pravara refusing intermarriage with others of the same pravara. It is to be surmised that the profession of purohita in a royal household would tend to be hereditary, and that therefore the royal family would come to possess the gotra-name of the purohita almost as an alternative family name. In such a fashion can the name of Gautama borne by the Buddha be explained. But it is equally probable that Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas continued to possess these gotras, and to regulate their marriages by them, because originally they formed one and the same clan with the Brahmans. If this is correct, it is easy to understand that the members of these classes would naturally choose a purohita from among their own clan, since in ritual matters there is always the

¹ E.g. Puruṣottama-pāṇḍita, *Gotra-pravara-mañjarī*, p. 4. But *ibid.*, pp. 126 ff., seems to imply that the prohibition holds good.

tendency for the clan to cling to its own distinctive forms and usages.

It has long been recognized that the "family-books", namely RV. ii-vii, with viii, as a slightly later addition, form the kernel of the R̥gveda collection. So it would seem that when the first redaction was made the clans to whom these books belonged formed the whole, or at least the main part, of the society in which the collection was made; since it is inconceivable that a large and important clan such as the Jāmadagnyas, if they had formed part of the same society at that time, should not have had their own collections included. The second book is the collection of the Gr̥tsamadas, who correspond to the Śunakas of the Sūtra-lists, as may be seen from the recital by the latter of the name Gār̥tsamada in their pravara. The third book belongs to the Viśvāmitras, the fourth to the Vāmadeva-Gautamas, the fifth to the Atris, the sixth to the Bhāradvājas, the seventh to the Vasisthas, and the eighth to the Kāṇvas.

Thus, in the earliest stage of the formation of the R̥gveda, we find represented seven of the eighteen exogamous clans of the Sūtra lists. This, coupled with the continuity of usage noted in the case of the Āpri-hymns, tells very strongly against the view that the later gotras were formed from ritual associations which, as Karandikar believed, only came into being in post-R̥gvedic times.

If we take into account the Sūtra distinction discussed above, between the Bhṛgu and Angiras groups of gotras, and the remaining gotras, then the arrangement of the early family books in the R̥gveda shows a rather striking symmetry of arrangement. The Gr̥tsamadas of book ii are the sole representatives of the Bhṛgus; but books iv, vi, and viii represent the three well-known subdivisions of the Angirases, namely the Gautamas, Bhāradvājas, and the Kevala Angirases, represented by the Kāṇvas. On the other hand, books iii, v, and vii all belong to non-Bhṛgu-Angiras gotras. Probably therefore this alternating arrangement of the books was intentional, and the distinction between Bhṛgu-Angiras Brahmins and others was important from very early times. The distinction continued in force for a very long time, and there are numerous traces of it in later ritual literature. Thus at the ceremony of establishing the householder's fire (*agnyādhāna*), there is a part of the ritual called by the Sūtras the *yathar̥ṣyādhānam*. One would expect this to mean that the various gotras had their distinct usages, as in the case of

the Āpṛi-hymns; but the distinction was between the Bhṛgu and Angirases as against all the others. The Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā gives only two contrasting formulæ, *angirasām tvā devānām vratenādadhē*; (*a*)*gnes tvā devasya vratenādadhē*,¹ "With the observance of the divine Angirases I establish thee"; "with the observance of the divine Agni I establish thee," the second form presumably belonging to all Brahmans other than Angirases (and Bhṛgu?). The Kāthaka gives for the other families "*ādityānām tvā devānām*, etc.", which is the form adopted by the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa and Āpastamba.² In place of the first phrase, however, the Taittirīya gives "*bhṛgūnām tvāngirasām vṛatapate vratenādadhāmi*"; while Āpastamba has three separate phrases, "*bhṛgūnām tvā devānām*, etc.", "*angirasām tvā devānām*, etc.", "*ādityānām tvā devānām*, etc." A similar discrimination between the two groups of Brahmans may be traced in the mantras prescribed for the adoration of the sacrificial fires at the Agnyupasthāna, where, if the mantras are allocated to gotras according to the ascriptions of the Anukramaṇī (the verses in question are all Ṛgvedic), they are seen to fall into groups alternating between Āngirasa families and non-Bhṛgu-Angirasa gotras.³ This can hardly be a chance distribution, and it seems probable that originally the Yajur-veda, in prescribing the two sets, expected them to be used as alternatives according to the gotra of the sacrificer.

At the time of the earliest compilation, not all the clans possessed Āpṛi-hymns, since the Āpṛis of the Gautamas and the Kaṇvas are placed among the additional collections of these families in the later first book, while the important family of the Bharadvājas seem never to have had an Āpṛi at all. It may be, as Nārāyaṇa remarks (commentary on ĀśvŚS. iii.2.8), that for this purpose they shared the Āpṛi of the Gautamas, as being fellow Angirases.

The first book of the Ṛgveda contains groups of hymns arranged for the most part according to family. These are certainly a later collection than the "family" books, and for the most part seem to have been composed also later than they. It is of interest, therefore, that in addition to a number of names already known

¹ MS. i.6.1, etc.

² KS. vii.13; TB. i.1.4.8; ĀpŚS. 5.xi.17; Baudh.ŚS. ii.17 seems to admit a wider range of alternatives (*amīśām tvā devānām . . . yatharsi yathāgotram*).

³ Taitt.Sam. i.5.5, *a-m*, and i.5.6, *f-i*, *m-p*. If we denote the Āngirasa verses by *a*, and the others by *x*, the arrangement is: *a, x; a, a, a; x, x, x, x; a, a, a; x, x, x, x, x; a, a, a*.

from the "family" books, the last group in the book is ascribed to Agastya. This comparatively late appearance of the Agastyas in the *R̥gveda* accords well with the position of this clan in the pravara-lists, where it is regularly placed last, and is considered to be "the eighth in addition to the seven *R̥ṣis*." It is also worth noting that, according to a passage in the *Jaiminiya-brāhmaṇa*, the Agastyas are "outside the Kuru-*pañcālas*".¹

Similarly, one may see in the group of hymns attributed to Kutsa (i.94-115) a sign of the emergence of the later gotragaṇa of that name, grouped under the Kevala Angirases. Possibly the group ascribed to Parucchepa Daivodāsi (i.127-139) may foreshadow the Kevala-Bhṛgu gaṇa of the Mitrāyus, whose pravara is "Bhārgava, Vādhryaśva, Daivodāsa". Whether or not this is so, there can be no doubt that this family was already sufficiently important before the close of the *R̥gveda* to have an *Āpri*-hymn of its own, as we have seen above (x.70, attributed to Sumitra Vādhryaśva). That this *Āpri* occurs only in book x, and that there is only one other hymn attributed to this Vādhryaśva, is sufficient indication of the late inclusion of this family within the *R̥gvedic* society.

The Kāśyapas, who in the *Sūtras* form an important and extensive family, are represented in the main collection of the *R̥gveda* only by five scattered hymns (i.99, v.44, viii.97, x.106, 163). But in the ninth book, the only really well-defined groups of hymns belong to them (ix.5-24, 53-60). Apparently the Kāśyapas were specialists in the composition of hymns to the Soma Pavamāna, and their *Āpri*-hymn (ix.5) is a remarkable *tour de force*, contriving as it does to fit the word *pavamāna* into every stanza of the traditional *Āpri* form.

The hymns of the tenth book, the latest in time, are not arranged in family groups; but many of these traditional authors of its hymns can be connected either with the clans already known from the earlier books of the *R̥gveda*, or with the later pravara-lists. The existence of the Jamadagnis as a separate gotra before the end of the *R̥gvedic* period is certified by the occurrence of their *Āpri*-hymn at x.110.

We can thus be confident of the existence in the earlier period of the formation of the *R̥gveda* of the clans corresponding to the

¹ Caland, "Das *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa* in Auswahl," § 145.

“family” books; and to these, before the final redaction of the *Ṛgveda*, must have been added the Agastis, Kutsas, Vādhryaśvas (i.e. Mitrayus), Kāśyapas, and Jamadagnis. With regard to the remaining families of the *Sūtra* accounts, who are all either Kevala Bhṛgu or Kevala Angirases, there is no reason to suppose that they existed as such in the *Ṛgvedic* period. Yet all of them, with the solitary exception of the Yaskas, can trace a *Ṛgvedic* connection, as their pravaras each contain the names of seers to whom are attributed various hymns of the tenth book (except for Trasadasyu Paurukutsa, representing the Viṣṇuvṛddhas, whose hymns are IV.42, V.27, and IX.110). Thus, the Saṃkr̥tis, with the pravara Śāktya, Gaurivīta, Sāṃkr̥tya, have the seer of x.73, Gaurivīta Śāktya; and similarly with the others—x.102, Mudgala Bhārmyaśva (Maudgalyas); x.111, Aṣṭādamṣṭra Vairūpa (Rathītara); x.118, Uruksaya Āmahiyava (Kapis); x.134 Māndhātṛ Yauvanāśva (Kutsas); x.148, Pṛthu Vainya (Vainyas).

It is difficult to believe that these later families actually existed during the *Ṛgvedic* period. The tradition is that the Kevala *gaṇas* are descended from seers who were originally Kṣatriyas, but had afterwards attained the status of Brahmans, and this may contain a fair element of truth. It cannot apply to the Gr̥tsamadas or the Kaṇvas, who although later reckoned as Kevala *gaṇas* of the Bhṛgu and Angirases respectively, were in the *Ṛgveda* established as important clans from a very early date. The others, however, may well be newcomers in post-Vedic times, although we cannot say whether their claim to these late Vedic *Ṛṣis* is genuine, or merely adopted for the sake of upholding a fictitious claim to ancient and respectable lineage.

There is no evidence as to where these clans came from. It is conceivable that they arose simply within the framework of the original society, as the result of an increase in dignity and importance. But it is also possible that they came from outside, that is, from other Aryan communities living on the fringes of the society to which the *Ṛgveda* belonged. This is very probably true of the Jāmadagnyas. Indeed, one of the most surprising facts in the *Ṛgvedic* picture is the very late appearance and comparatively insignificant position of this family; whereas in the *Sūtra* lists they have assumed a position of very great importance. Not only are they numerically one of the largest of the gotras (if one may judge roughly from the number of sub-families comprised by them),

but they invariably come first in the pravara-lists. From the Sūtra point of view, in fact, they are the Bhṛguś *par excellence*, and they have apparently quite superseded the ancient Gr̥tsamadas, who have been relegated to the position of Kevala-Bhārgavas. Now, it is significant that the Jāmādagnis cut the sacrificial cake into five portions, while the other gotras were content with four. The same distinction was also observed in the Gr̥hya ritual, and at the marriage ceremony the Jāmādagnyas sacrificed three portions of fried grain, but the others only two.¹ That such a distinction in usage should have been so carefully observed into the later period is in itself of considerable significance; and it is noteworthy that the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa in dealing with the matter mentions that although some prescribe a five-fold cutting, this is not approved among the Kuru-pañcālas.² It is of course unthinkable that the author should not have known that it was the Jāmādagnyas to whom this usage belonged, and the fact that the name is not mentioned may be taken simply as a sign of disapproval. The pointed reference to the Kuru-pañcālas reminds one of the similar remark made by the Jaiminīya-brāhmaṇa (quoted above) about the Agastis, and it is probably an indication that at the time of the composition of the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, the entry of the Jāmādagnyas into the Brahmanical fold was still comparatively recent.

The Ṛgveda, it is true, knows of Bhṛguś and Angirases, who seem to be thought of as semi-divine personages rather than as human priestly clans. On the other hand, it is precisely to these that the hymns of the Atharva-veda are ascribed, and it is well known that the older name for this Veda was *Atharvāṅgirasah* (also *Bhṛgvāṅgirasah*), that is, the hymns of the Atharvans and the Angirases.³ It seems therefore a possible conjecture that in origin this Veda represents the tribal collection of an Aryan community distinct from that in which the Ṛgveda grew up. If the Jāmādagni-

¹ Gobhila G.S. i.8.4; Khādīra G.S. ii.1.17 (Jāmādagnya-bhṛguś); Āśv. G.S. i.10.20, i.7.8-9; cf. Weber, *Ind. St.*, x, p. 95.

² Ś.B. i.7.2.8.

³ The Atharvans, so closely connected in tradition with the other two families, appear nowhere in the pravara lists. The alternative names of the Atharva-veda led Hillebrandt to the theory that the Bhṛguś are to be considered as the clan, and the Atharvans as their priests (Ved. Myth. ii.177). Ātharvana, however, is as common a patronymic in the older period as is Bhārgava, and it seems probable that the two names came to be synonymous. Thus, for example, the Khila-hymn quoted above (p. 25) is ascribed to Subhēsaja Ātharvana, but the pravara contained in it is a Bhārgava pravara.

Bhṛgu may be taken as in some way representing this tribe, their growth in power and position in post-Ṛgvedic society can easily be understood, since their knowledge of charms and spells would be very highly thought of. Now, in later Brahmanical literature, the word *vrātya* denotes a person outside the orthodox fold, whose initiation has not been performed; and in Vedic times we find ceremonies called *Vrātya-stomas*, the purpose of which was to introduce into Brahmanical society a person from one of the "roving bands" of non-Vedic Aryans. The original sense of the word *vrātya* has always been a matter for controversy, and we need not enter into a discussion of that here; but one of the chief problems has been that in book xv of the Atharva-veda we find a long and detailed semi-mystical panegyric of the *Vrātya*. This is hardly in keeping with the despised position assigned to him in later times. If, however, the conjecture above as to the origin of the *Jāmadagnyas* is true, then some light may be thrown on this problem also. For if the Atharva-veda was at the start a collection belonging to a community originally distinct from that of the Ṛgveda, and living a nomadic life on the outskirts of the latter, it is understandable that the word *vrātya* "wanderer" should have a good or bad significance according to the point of view adopted. The theory, therefore, that the *Jāmadagnyas* represent the *Vrātya* tribe to whom the Atharva-veda belonged, would be perfectly in accord with the evidence, though not finally proven.

To summarize our results: the gotra system in the Sūtra-period is organically connected with the "hymn-families" of the Ṛgveda, as is shown by the continuity of ritual usages. In the earliest stage which we can observe, however, the number of clans is considerably smaller than in the Sūtra accounts. The original "hymn-families" all survive and have their representatives in the Sūtra period. But in the interval a number of new groups join them, some of whom, at least, such as the *Agastyas* and the *Jamadagnis*, came from outside tribes; while others, being for the most part included among the *Kevala gaṇas* of the *Bhṛgu* and *Angrirasas*, may be in origin *Kṣatriya* families, as the tradition has it, who, as the cleavage between the classes (*varṇas*) became more sharply defined, were no longer felt as integral parts of the gotras of the Brahmins, and were thus able to form independent units of their own.

Portuguese and Spanish Rivalry in the Far East during the 17th Century

By C. R. BOXER

(Concluded from p. 164, Parts 3 and 4, 1946.)

THIS brings us to the point where we must consider in more detail the action of the celebrated Dominican Friar Domingo Fernandez Navarrete, and his long-standing feud with the Portuguese Jesuits of the China Mission. Navarrete was born at Peñafiel and entered the Dominican Order in 1635, going to the Philippines in 1648, whence he proceeded to China ten years later. Unlike many of his Order, he was a cultured man of great ability, and a competent Sinologue for his century. Arrested on the occasion of the persecution of 1665, he was deported to Canton with the Jesuits and Franciscans from Peking and the provinces. Here he took a leading part in the ecclesiastical Junta held to discuss the controversial question of the Confucian Rites and allied topics in 1667-68. He escaped from Canton in rather equivocal circumstances in December, 1669, and after a short stay at Macao sailed to Europe by way of India and the Cape of Good Hope. On reaching Rome he was made Procurator of the Philippine Mission, and returned to Spain in 1674, publishing the first volume of his highly controversial *Tratados Historicos, Politicos, Ethnicos, y Religiosos de la Monarchia de China* two years later at Madrid. The work created a sensation on account of its outspoken criticisms of the Jesuits in China, but nowadays it is read more for the author's vivacious description of his own eventful odyssey in the Far East. A second volume entitled *Controversias Antiguas y Modernas de la Mission de la Gran China* was printed at Madrid in 1679, but never published, since the Inquisition suppressed it after the first 668 pages had been printed off. Surviving copies are exceedingly rare, only two being recorded by bibliographers, one of which is in the Grenville Library at the British Museum, whilst the other, formerly belonging to Henri Cordier, is in the Public Library of New York, where I had the opportunity of carefully examining it. The fuel added to the flames of the burning Rites Controversy by Navarrete's book made his return to China highly inadvisable from the viewpoint of the Holy See; and he was transferred to the less controversial sphere of the West Indies, where he was appointed



CONTROVERSIAS ANTIGVAS Y MODERNAS DE LA MISSION DE LA GRAN CHINA.

TRATADO PRIMERO. PRELVDIOS DE ESTAS CONTROVERSIAS.

PRELVDIO PRIMERO.

*PRUEBA EL AVTOR EL AFECTO DE SU
Religion , y fuyo à la Compañia , que milita por
ella , y no contra ella.*



DE PRINCIPIO A este papella sabiduria, doctrina, santidad, y modestia del melissuo Bernardo; scami norte, y guia en esta ocasion; gouierne mi pluma, y dixia mi mano, para que camine seguro, y sin tropiezos, y para que en mi escrito no los halla aun la sinistra intencion del que le leyere, en ocasion, y circunstancias bien semejantes a las que me mueren à este pequeño trabajo, norado el Glorioso Santo, quiza de lo mesmo que yo, (à pocos se ha concedido el viuir en este mundo sin achaques, y aun sin calumnias) ò por curiar nota, y sospecha de apasionado, y que se encienda, que en su pecho no reyna mas que la verdad, de cuyo zelo, y amor se meue à escribir. Di-

ze en la Apologia à Guillelmo Abad
*Quis unquam me aduersus Ordinem illum,
vel coram audire disputantem? Quem un-
quam de ordine illo, nisi cum gaudio vidi,
nisi cum honore suscepi, nisi cum reuerentia
aliquoties, nisi cum humilitate adhortatus
sum? Dixi, Et dico, modus quidem vite
est Sanctus, honestus, castitate decorus, dis-
cretione præcipuus, à Patribus institutus, à
Spiritu Sancto præordinatus, animabus
saluandis non mediocriter idoneus. Ego ne,
vel damno, vel despicio, quem sic prædicò
Admiror me aliquando in aliquibus, eiusdem
Ordinis Monasterijs hospitio susceptum fuisse;
reddat Dominus seruis suis humanitatem, quam
infirmanti, vltra etiam, quam necesse fuit
exhiberunt, Et honorem, quo me plus quo-
que, quam dignus fui dignati sunt, ipsorum
me commendauit orationibus. Cur igitur Ordinem
damnare putor, vel dicor? An forte,
quia intra alium Ordinem conuersari videor?*
A Propterea

First page of the *Controversias* of 1679.
(Courtesy of The New York Public Library.)

Archbishop of San Domingo in 1677, and where he died twelve years later.

The reason for the suppression of Navarrete's second volume becomes abundantly clear when we peruse its folio pages, for Calvin and Knox between them could scarcely have penned a more waspish indictment of the Jesuits. If he was bitterly outspoken in the *Tratados* of 1676, he was positively vituperative in the *Controversias* of 1679. Whether right or wrong, his charges deserve further discussion here, since the state of mind they disclose throws an interesting sidelight on the ill-feeling between Spaniards and Portuguese in Asia during the period under review. It is true that Navarrete begins his first chapter with a laboured disclaimer of hostility towards the Company of Jesus, but this formal statement is flatly contradicted by nearly every line which he subsequently wrote. A summary of a few of the most important chapters will bear this out. In *Preludio XIV* (pp. 24-6) he discusses the problem (posed by the Portuguese) of whether the Spaniards should be excluded from the China Mission on account of their martial disposition. The accusation boiled down to the contrast between the Spanish conquest of America, the Philippines, and part of Formosa by force of arms, and the allegedly pacific penetration of the Portuguese in India for purely commercial ends. Consequently it was claimed that the Chinese were not mistrustful of the Portuguese or of their establishment at Macao, whereas they were understandably suspicious of the Spaniards at Manila. Navarrete had no difficulty in demolishing this particular cockshy, since it was so obviously refuted by the facts. The Chinese had repeatedly manifested their suspicion of Macao, notably in the year 1614 and 1623, whilst the Portuguese chroniclers like Barros, Couto, and Faria y Sousa gloried in the conquest of Goa, Malacca, Ormuz *et al* by Albuquerque and his successors, "prizing in fact," as one of them observed, "only such possessions as had been gained by the sword." He then endeavours to refute some allegations made by the Jesuit Father Colin to the effect that some Spanish Franciscans from Fukien had on several occasions advocated the conquest of China by the Spaniards, and even the shooting of all who should refuse to be converted!

Passing from the defensive to the offensive, Frey Navarrete then retorts with a *Tu Quoque* to the Jesuits and claims to condemn them out of their own mouths. He alleges that the Portuguese

Jesuit Manuel Jorge, on the occasion of the Dutch embassy to Peking in 1655-56, said in his hearing that he had told the Hollanders that China could easily be conquered with 10,000 Europeans, and that the Dutchmen had advised waiting until the local Christian converts were more numerous. Worse still, he alleges that the veteran Portuguese Missionary Antonio de Gouvea, S.J., had not only threatened the Chinese with fire and sword, because of the off-hand treatment given in Canton to the Ambassador Manuel de Saldanha in 1667-69, but that he and his colleagues repeatedly claimed that the sainted Francis Xavier himself had declared that Christianity in China would never amount to anything unless protected by muskets—an attitude (whether truly reported or not) which merely anticipated that of some Protestant missionaries in the Far East during the middle of the nineteenth century. After citing other instances from his own personal knowledge of Jesuit bellicosity, he concludes this chapter with a final fling at their casting of cannon for the Ming and Manchu Emperors in 1640-1660; winding up with a Parthian shot at Padre Johann Adam Schall von Bell for his writing to Macao for military support of the last Ming monarch against the Manchus, which missive (so he says) was never delivered but used by the bearer to blackmail Father Adam till his dying day.¹

In the next chapter (*Preludio XV*, pp. 26-9) Navarrete takes Alvaro Semedo and other Jesuits to task for suggesting the exclusion of the Mendicant Orders from the China mission field on the ground that the friars were of too many and ill-assorted nationalities. Here again he retorts with the *Tu Quoque*, and instances the mutual dislike between Portuguese and French and Germans in the Company of Jesus, and the rivalry between the Jesuits of the Province of Japan and those of the Vice-Province of China. This was indeed nothing new. Alvaro Semedo (China) and Antonio Cardim (Japan) had intrigued against each other at Lisbon in the sixteen-forties, although both were Portuguese. Lusitanian dislike of the French missionaries backed by Louis XIV was strongly voiced by the Franciscan Friar, Frei Jacinto de Deus, in a letter from Goa to the Prince-Regent of Portugal (October, 1671); whilst

¹ Compare the allegations anent the remarks made by the pilot of the *San Felipe* in Japan in 1597, and the detailed proposals for the Spanish conquest of China made by the Jesuit Alonso Sanches at Manila contemporaneously. (Colin-Pastells, *Labor Evangelica*, and Henri Bernard, S.J., *Les Iles Philippines*, quoted in *J.R.A.S.* 1946, Pts. III-IV, p. 149, n. 1.

rivalry between the French and Portuguese Jesuit priests of the China Mission continued for over a century, and was commented on by Lord Macartney in 1794.

In Chapter XVII (pp. 29-30) Navarrete discusses the vexed question of whether the Spaniards should be excluded from China, since this country was claimed to be in the Portuguese sphere of influence as laid down by Pope Alexander VI in the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), apart from Lusitanian priority in the China mission field. Both these claims were hotly disputed by Navarrete, the second more effectively than the first. Portuguese Jesuits had in fact been preceeded by the Dominican Gaspar da Cruz in 1556, although with no practical results. His other point will not bear impartial investigation, despite his appeal to a Spanish Sea-Chart published at Madrid on 3rd May, 1599, by order of King Philip III, which showed not only Japan, Formosa, and the Philippines, but the whole of Korea, China, and Malacca within the Spanish zone.

In another chapter (*Preludio XX*, pp. 32-4) Navarrete attempts to demolish the Portuguese and Jesuit contention that so long as they held a monopoly of the Japan and China missions they flourished, but that the appearance of the "crazy Friars with their rash behaviour" was responsible for the loss of the Japan field and the endangering of the China one. This accusation was a common one and can be found in standard history books of the present day. Navarrete had not much difficulty in refuting it, and it is curious to note that one of his witnesses for the defence (so to speak) was François Caron, who had served the Dutch East India Company in Japan from 1619 to 1641, and whom he met when in French employ at Surat in January, 1671. Caron assured him that "he had been an eyewitness of everything, and could affirm that the Friars were not to blame, nor had any mention been made of them". Not content with this disclaimer, however, Navarrete sought to turn the tables on the Jesuits by repeating the old wives' tale (told him by another Frenchman at Surat) of the capture by the Dutch of a Portuguese ship from Japan, carrying letters from the Jesuit Bishop to the Pope and King of Spain urging the conquest of the country—a fable whose origin and dissemination can be read elsewhere.¹

¹ C. R. Boxer, *A true description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam by François Caron and Joost Schonten, 1636* (Argonaut Press, 1935), pp. xxx-xxxiii. Other references to Caron will be found on pp. 474 and 639-640 of the *Controversias*.

Other sins and foibles of which Navarrete accuses the Portuguese Jesuits in his *Controversias* include plagiarism (pp. 56, 107, and 367); ignorance of the Chinese language (pp. 105, 152-3, 430); wilful obstinacy (141); self-indulgence (p. 428); suppression of the crucifix (p. 363); Judas kisses (p. 468); and the falsification of devotional books to suit their own ends (pp. 18-19); but over nothing is he so self-righteously indignant as over their trade and commerce.

This singular combination of God and Mammon lead him to comment on the Jesuit Father Diego Morales' unctious description of their College at Macao as "*a house of learning, garden of sanctity, and school of Apostles*", with the acidulous observation "that for literal verification there were not lacking the Judases exemplified by Fathers Ferreira, Marquez, Cypriano, etc., and he should have likewise added '*house of Trade, and Warehouse of merchandise*'". He frequently refers to the dissatisfaction caused amongst the mercantile community at Macao by the scope and extent of the Jesuits' commercial operations there, as an example of which he quotes the arrival of Padre Marini, S.J., in 1669, with more than 50,000 ducats worth of goods. This commerce was an open scandal, and the Senate of Macao wrote to the Ambassador Manuel de Saldanha in July, 1669, complaining that "as long as the Company was inspired by the zeal of Saint Ignatius it was the true Company, but now that this has expired and it is solely occupied with merchandising, commerce and trade, it is no longer the Company". These words are an echo of those employed three years earlier by the Viceroy of India, Antonio de Mello de Castro, who is said to have stated that "the Jesuit Fathers in Portugal and Castile were Fathers of the Company of Jesus, but that the Jesuit Fathers in India were Fathers of the Dutch East India Company, and did not concern themselves with anything but their own selfish interests, neither did they regard the truth nor tell it from their pulpits". This Viceroy appears to have been anti-clerical on principle, since he is reported to have frequently affirmed that "there was no difference between being a Capuchin Friar or a heretic, and their ashes alike should be thrown into the sea".¹ Similar accusations

¹ *Controversias* (pp. 106, 370, 424). *Revista de Historia*, vol. i (Lisbon, 1912), pp. 175-8, article of Pedro d'Azevedo, *A Inquisicao de Goa contra o Visorei Mello de Castro*. Compare my essay *The Affair of the Madre de Deus* (London, 1930), pp. 34-6 and 62.

were made in distant Brazil ; whilst in neighbouring Manila on one occasion, lampoons were posted up near the Dominican College of Santo Thomas, urging all those persons desirous of buying textiles and metals to apply to the Jesuit Fathers (Juan de la Concepcion, *Historia General de Philipinas*, Tomo 8, p. 45 ; Sampaloc, 1790).

Even more serious than these allegations, was Navarrete's charge that the Jesuits in Japan had refused to hear confession or give absolution to native Christians converted by the Mendicant Orders, unless they took Jesuits for their ghostly counsellors instead of Franciscans or Dominicans. This accusation was made in reply to a Jesuit affirmation that the Friars in China would not hear the confessions of Jesuit converts, and Navarrete supports his case with the following story. In January, 1622, a female Christian named Cathalina, wife of one Gozayemon of Himi village in the daimyate (fief) of Arima in Kyūshū, testified on oath that the Japanese Jesuit Sebastian Kimura, had urged her to leave the Dominican confraternity of the Rosary and take a Jesuit Father for her confessor. He stated *inter alia* that the Jesuits were the true spiritual conquerors of Japan, and the Friars had only come in tardily to join in the gleanings ; moreover the Company of Jesus was in a position to give alms, whereas the Mendicant Orders depended on charity. When she rejected his blandishments he resorted to threats, even refusing to hear her confession when in child-bed until one of her sons forced him to do so. Similar complaints were made by two Japanese Dominican converts against the Jesuit Fathers Juan Baptista Zola and João Fonseca. These and other instances adduced by Navarrete were unknown to Sir E. M. Satow and Professor James Murdoch when they wrote their studies on the rivalry of the Religious Orders in Japan during the early seventeenth century.¹ It may be observed in passing that Navarrete contrasts the alleged cowardice of Chinese converts in time of persecution with the bravery shown by their Japanese counterparts who so courageously concealed the hunted missionaries (*Controversias*, pp. 260-355).

¹ *Controversias*, pp. 30-31, 404, 470-71 ; " Que los Padres no quieren que confesemos sus Christianos, es lo cierto ; que ellos no querian absolver a los Japones sino dauan primero palabra de dexar el Rosario, es mas que cierto." Cf. also Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, vol. ii, ch. xi, E. M. Satow, *Trans. As. Soc. Japan*, xviii, pp. 133-156.

Chapter 32 (pp. 59-60) is devoted to a discussion of whether the primary qualification required of a missionary in the Far East is plain living or high thinking, apropos of which the author comments on the dissolute life led by the majority of laymen in Manila and Macao. He observes that a Chinese bookseller at Manila once said to him : " Father, if I was baptized, I would not be a Christian like these soldiers and others here ; since they are Christians only in name, and in life and deed they are worse than anyone. Even though I am a gentile, I would scorn to behave like they do,"—which homily made Navarrete feel ashamed of his countrymen and coreligionists, even as did the Protestant Pastors in the eighteen-thirties of the English participants in the Opium Trade at Canton.¹

A point on which the Dominican Prelate takes the Portuguese Jesuits severely to task, is for their suggestion that the Chinese may once have known the worship of the one true God, and that there was nothing idolatrous about the Confucian Rites. In a chapter entitled *Si se Salvo el Confucio?* (pp. 173-5) he points out that Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Pliny, Seneca *et al*, were irretrievably damned, and how much more Confucius who was not worthy to kiss their feet ! Elsewhere (p. 141) he compares the Confucian *literati's* contempt for the popular Buddhist and Taoist Rites, to the ancient Persians' dislike of Greek idolatry as recorded by Herodotus and others. In other words a case of the pot calling the kettle black. He does not seem to realize that this line of argument would tend to discourage potential converts quite as much as the behaviour of the traditionally brutal and licentious soldiery at Manila and Macao. His views on women were certainly more in keeping with Confucian ethics. He proves (to his own satisfaction) that Man is inherently a more noble being than Woman, and indignantly refutes the contrary thesis advocated by " an ignorant Dutch Domine ". This at any rate was one point on which Catholic, Calvinist, Confucian, and Buddhist met on common ground. Wretched Woman got it coming and going in the seventeenth century, irrespective of place and clime ; nor can Navarrete forbear to accuse the Jesuits of sometimes stroking the faces of their female converts during the baptismal ceremony (p. 197).

¹ Cf. Rev. A. S. Thelwall, *The Iniquities of the Opium Trade with China* (London, 1839). For the other side see G. E. Morrison's witty and informative *An Australian in China* (London, 1902), pp. 45-9, 190-91.

A more sensible chapter is that in which he discusses the advisability or otherwise of European Powers sending duly accredited Ambassadors to China (pp. 273-5). He points out (what it took European Governments nearly two centuries to realize) that the Chinese regarded Europe and Europeans in much the same light as these regarded "the poor Indian with untutored mind" in America and the Antilles. He added that the Manchu Court had repeatedly made it clear that they neither asked nor needed embassies from foreign countries; and that if these came unsolicited, they must abide by the Court ceremonial (*kowtow*) and the regulations for the tributary missions from Korea, Indo-China, and Siam. He frequently refers to the difficulties and humiliations experienced by the Portuguese Ambassador, Manuel de Saldanha, whose stay in Canton during the years 1667-9 coincided with his own; and he quotes approvingly several criticisms of the Embassy's Jesuit sponsors by its Macaonese Secretary Bento Pereira de Faria, who was in fact on bad terms with the chaplain, Padre Francisco Pimentel, S.J.¹

This brings us to the closing episode of Navarrete's stay in China, namely his fugitive visit to Macao in December-January, 1669-70. The Dominican's own story of the circumstances under which he broke his parole and fled from Canton are given in the first volume of his *Tratados* (Madrid, 1676); but the Portuguese version has been hitherto ignored and is now given from a recently discovered letter of Frei Miguel dos Anjos, O.S.A., Governor of the Bishopric of Macao, to Father Antonio de Gouvea, the Jesuit Vice-Provincial and senior missionary of those detained by order of the Manchu Government at Canton.

"The letter which Your Reverend Paternity was good enough to write me on the 6th January, was handed to me on the 12th inst. I was duly pleased to learn therefrom that Your Reverence and the other reverend fathers were all enjoying good health as I had hoped; but I was also very grieved to hear of the annoyance caused to Your Reverence by the untimely flight of Padre Navarrete—however, nothing else could be expected of this

¹ As a corrective to Navarrete's derogatory references to Saldanha's embassy in his *Tratados* and *Controversias*, cf. the official Jesuit version of Padre Francisco Pimentel, *Breve Relação da Jornada que fez a Corte de Pekim o Senhor Manoel de Saldanha* (ed. Boxer and Braga, 1942), and the Secretary Bento de Faria's (an opponent of the Jesuits) version in *Azia Sinica e Japonica*, livro viii (ch. 5-6), now in course of publication at Macao.

individual, and from what I know of his character it would not surprise me if he were guilty of even greater excesses. I speak as one who has had personal experience of him.

"Now with reference to Your Paternity's proposal, I must state that I can do nothing in such cases without being officially asked to intervene; but even without having been, I did what I could, not because of the love which I bear to the Company but because of my official duty.

"On the 18th December, the Rev. Father Vicar of the Convent of Saint Dominic came to speak with me, and to ask my help and favour in sending away Padre Navarrete in the first ship. I was petrified at this news. I asked him where he was; he told me in the *Casa Branca*,¹ awaiting his order to come to Macao. I did my utmost to persuade the Father Vicar to act as he ought with all the reasons I could think of; I told him as much as Your Reverences could have done, and even more which perhaps would not have occurred to you there. Finally he remained unconvinced, and we parted on such terms, that I have never seen a Dominican Friar since then, nor do I try to visit their Convent any more.

"As the Father Vicar did not find the support for which he had hoped, he went and availed himself of the public enemy of this city, both in matters sacred and profane; and since his object was to foment troubles and devilries, he found him ready and willing to embrace the chance with open arms, albeit in despite of the duties of the position which he occupies, as I told him to his face, when he came to tempt me on this matter on the 19th December, owing to what the Father Vicar had told him concerning my answer to his request. As I saw the Father Vicar so resolved on sending for Padre Navarrete to come from Casa Branca to his Convent, even threatening with blunderbuss volleys anybody who should try to fetch him thence, I sent forthwith for the Noble City's Procurator, and related to him all that had passed, which neither he nor the other officials, nor even the Fathers of the Company knew. I told the said Procurator to summon all the other officials and tell them on my behalf what I said, and that they should do their best forthwith at Casa Branca to prevent Padre Navarrete from entering this City, and that he should return to Canton by the same way which he came.

¹ Tsinsan on the island of Chungshan or Heungshan, a few miles north of Macao.

“ This was acted upon at once ; but when the Procurator reached Casa Branca, he found that Padre Navarrete had gone to Macao the previous day ; and I found that the Father Vicar had deceived me, when he told me on the 18th December that Padre Navarrete was then at Casa Branca awaiting his leave to come to his Convent ; when in point of fact he was already in it on the 17th under the favour and protection of Dom Alvaro da Silva, the avowed enemy of the Church and of the holy Company of Jesus in particular.

“ I have a certificate of all the foregoing from the Municipal Procurator ; and apart from this I have made a separate detailed report of everything to the Viceroy ; and herewith I have given Your Reverence an account of what transpired, and that I did not fail in the duty of my office in what concerned the two Majestys, Divine and Human, to the public weal of this City, to the peace and quiet of Your Reverences, and to my known affection for the holy Company of Jesus, and for that I am persecuted by this tyrant and his adherents, all of whom are lost souls.

“ Finally, out of hatred to the Company and myself, Dom Alvaro escorted Padre Navarrete to the ship which he imagines will take him to India but he is deceived in this ;¹ he embarked on the 9th January and sailed on the 11th, and on the 12th they gave me Your Reverence's letter. God go with him, if so be that God can go with a wicked heart, such as I know this man has. Your Reverence may be sure that he will not go to India, because he knows full well what he has to contend with. I did not see his face, since I had enough of him when I saw him in 1668 and 1669. Be of good cheer Your Reverence, because the menace and ill-will of Padre Navarrete will not prevail against the truth, neither is he the type to oppose successfully the holy Company of Jesus ; apart from the fact that hitherto the Spaniards have never yet got the better of the Portuguese.

“ And in order that Your Reverence may realize the full extent of the tergiversations of this Castillian Navarrete, you must know that it is false what he wrote to Canton, saying that the Prelates of the Company had asked me for an Excommunication to prevent the ships leaving this place from taking him. If he had said that the City, prompted by me, had suggested it, he would have told

¹ He was not. Navarrete got to India all right. See the account in his *Tratados*, where he naturally speaks very highly of the chivalrous behaviour of the Captain-General, Dom Alvaro da Silva.

at least one truth amongst so many lies ; however, the City, frightened of this tyrant, did not dare, aside from which the Council was nearing its end, and the new one is all in favour of Dom Alvaro, some through favour and others through fear.¹ God help us who can ; and if he does not help us, Macao will be lost. Your Reverence commend it to God, and myself most particularly, that he may give me patience to suffer and endure what I do. God guard Your Reverence as I hope, and command me in any way which I can serve you and the other Religious of your holy household. Macao, 18th January, 1670.

"The humble Servant and Subject of your Very Reverend Paternity,

*Fr. Miguel dos Anjos."*²

The same rare (perhaps unique) little xylographic work printed at Peking in 1704, from which the above letter is translated, also contains a formal disclaimer by Vasco Barbosa de Mello, one of the leading citizens of Macao, of some of the anti-Jesuit statements attributed to him by Navarrete in the first volume of his *Tratados* (*Tratado* 6, Cap. 16, paras 3, 4, and 5). Barbosa de Mello not only denied Navarrete's allegation that he had, under false pretences, been induced to countersign some papers stating that the Friars were the cause of the ruin of the China Mission and that the Jesuits did not engage in trade, but he further pointed out that he was in Canton during the year 1668, at the time when this incident was alleged by Navarrete to have occurred in Macao. In the course of his detailed denial he states :—

"... What I know for certain is that Padre Navarrete fled from the prison at Canton (which prison was the same house in which were the Jesuit Fathers) and reached an island opposite this city of Macao, whence Dom Alvaro da Sylva, the then Captain-General, brought him to Macao, and provided him with a ship and the means of going to India, assisting him in every way. This he did out of hatred for the Reverend Fathers of the Company, against

¹ By "the City" is meant the Senate or Municipal Council which changed annually on the 1st January.

² *Exemplar Epistolae Rdmi P. Fr. Michaelis ab Angelis ex sacro ordine Diui Augustini Gubernatoris Episcopatus Macaensis. Ad. R. P. Antonium de Gouvea V. Provinciale Sinense. Juxta Originale, quod Pekini asservat. in Collegio Societatis IESU.* From the copy printed xylographically at Peking in 1704 in my collection. The original was reprinted at Macao in 1947.

me mande, em q^o sirua, e ao mais Religiosos desta
sancta casa. Macao 18 de Janeiro de 1670.

Menor Senho, e súdito de V. P. M. R. D.



Fr. Miguel dos Anjos.

Exemplar attestacionis factæ à D. Vasco Bar-
bosa de Mello circa quasdam falsitates relatas
à R. P. Nauarete. Juxta Originale, quod Pe-
xini aservatur in sc^o Societ. IESV.

Eu Vasco Barbosa de Mello, cidadão e morador da
Nobre, e sempre leal cidade de Macao, tendo not.^o q^o
o M. R. P. Fr. Domingos Fernandez Nauarrete da SAGR.
ada ordem de S. Domingos, ^{no} liuro q^o imprimio em Ma-
drid no anno de 1626 intitulado. Tratados Historicos
Politicos &c. fãz menção de m^{ys} allegandome por testemu-
nha de alguãz cousas contra os R. R. P. da Comp.^a d. IESV.

Page from the *Exemplar Epistolæ* (Pekin, 1704.)

(Author's collection.)

whom he had previously shown himself to be ill affected; since they were very anxious lest the flight of Padre Navarrete should direly imperil the lives of the other Fathers in Canton and the loss of the China Mission, not only the Jesuits, but Dominicans and Franciscans, if this should come to the knowledge of the two Mandarins who were in charge of their prison; for the Fathers themselves had given their word that they would not flee; and the Mandarins, trusting them, let them walk about the city and exercise their office of missionaries; and this was known to me whilst I was in Canton, whence I returned three months before Padre Navarrete to Macao . . . and thus he likewise was mistaken in this, and in many other things that he says of this city of Macao, and which he alleges to be true, but which are obviously false, or different from what he says. And forasmuch as what I state in this Certificate is the truth, and what Padre Navarrete states is false, I made three sworn statements on the Holy Evangelists, of which this is the third, on today, 16th December, in the year 1680.

Vasco Barbosa de Mello." ¹

The final departure of that stormy petrel Domingo Fernandez Navarrete seems to have ushered in a relatively tranquil period, during which Macao and Manila remained on better terms than before. Portuguese Fidalgos from Macao sometimes visited Manila to see the Bull-fights, and their lavish display on some of these occasions caused even the prodigal Spaniards to raise their eyebrows. Some Franciscan monks lent money to João Autunes Portugal when the latter tried unsuccessfully to take over his post of Governor of Timor and Solor in 1685, and this seems to have been a bad debt. The voyages between Macao and Manila were either authorized or tolerated by both Crowns since the end of the war of 1640-68, which no doubt contributed to improve mutual relations. Discordant notes were sounded now and again of course. We have already seen at the beginning of this essay that Friar Juan Francisco de San Antonio, O.F.M., took understandable umbrage at the anti-Spanish tone of his Macaonese contemporary, Jacinto de Deus' *Vergel de Plantas e Flores*, published at Lisbon

¹ *Ibidem.* Vasco Barbosa de Mello was Ordinary Judge in 1642, and recommended for a Commandery in the Order of Christ on the accession of King John IV. He assisted Manuel de Saldanha in Canton, 1668-9, and was alive in 1681, when one of his sons who had taken Holy Orders in Manila was drowned on the return voyage to Macao.

in 1689. After a long-winded denunciation of his Capuchin colleague, Frey Juan even takes Camões to task for declaring that not content with discovering the four quarters of the globe, the Portuguese would have discovered other worlds had they existed. This on the grounds that even the most ravenous beasts do not kill when they are sated, whereas the more Man has the greedier he becomes.¹ True enough, but he forgets that the cap fitted his own countrymen as well as the Portuguese. *Satis est* was never the motto of an expanding empire, from the days of Rome onward.

¹ Padre Frey Juan Francisco de San Antonio, O.F.M., *Chronicas de la Apostolica Provincia de San Gregorio de Filipinas*, etc., vol. ii, ch. xv, pp. 81-4 (Sampaloc, 1741).

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

NISI DOMINUS. By NEVILL BARBOUR. pp. 248, maps 3. London : Harrap, 1946. 8s. 6d.

Muslim writers usually begin their histories with the creation, so that an Englishman writing on Palestine can plead examples for beginning at the beginning. There are dangers in so doing. For instance, it is dangerous to quote the book of Chronicles for the use of the name Arab in the days of Jehoshaphat ; it is probable that the fair of Ukaz was not the equivalent of the Olympic games, but was limited to a group of tribes in the west of Arabia. The derivation of Saracen from *sharqī* is by no means proved. For the period since the Balfour Declaration this is a book which no Englishman can read without a feeling of shame ; the home government forgot the warning, "no man can serve two masters."

A. S. TRITTON.

NAHL 'EBAR ENNAHL. Edited by GAMAL UDIN AL-SHAYYAL. pp. 123. Cairo, 1940, piastres 18.

Any natural history in this book comes from Aristotle and the bulk of the remainder is literature. All words connected in any way with bees and bee-keeping are recorded, men with nicknames derived from bees are mentioned, and much poetry about bees is quoted. Much of the text is found also in al-Damīrī. It looks as if al-Maḡrīzī cut down the text of al-Damīrī by omitting unnecessary words ; the editor has restored them. Otherwise he has done his work well, providing all the help which the reader needs. Parallels from Aristotle are quoted in an English translation and Sharaf's dictionary has been used regularly.

A. S. TRITTON.

Middle East

TWO QUEENS OF BAGHDAD. By NABIA ABBOTT. pp. 277, map, illus., genealogical table. University of Chicago Press (Cambridge University Press), 1946.

The Times Literary Supplement gives half a dozen lines to this book under the heading "Essays and belles lettres".

IBN TUFAIL. By OMAR A. FARRUKH. pp. 100. Beirut, 1946. 5s.

Prescription for making books: Take one account of Neo-Platonism, trim with details about one philosopher, garnish with generalities about the age in which he lived, and the book is complete. As a description of Dr. Farrukh's procedure, this is exaggerated, but there is enough truth in it to make it damaging. The pamphlet is a good introduction to the study of Ibn Tufail and can be recommended with some reservations, but those who have read other books by the author will find much repetition. The sketch of the condition of the world at that date is mere padding; the quarrels between Stephen of England and the barons had nothing to do with Ibn Tufail.

A. S. TRITTON.

DROIT MATRIMONIAL ASSYRO-BABYLONIEN. By A. VAN PRAAG. (Allard Pierson Stichting: Archæologisch-historische Bijdragen, XII.) 10½ × 7, pp. 221. Amsterdam: N.V. Noord-hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1945.

This scholarly, well-documented work deals with Babylonian and Assyrian marriage laws of the second millennium B.C. and is based on the law-codes and contracts. Some notice is taken of Sumerian laws but not of late Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian. While considering the Babylonian and Assyrian laws to be fundamentally the same, the author treats each separately before making a comparison. His discussions of other scholars' views are often original and penetrating and he recognizes that in default of clear evidence some conclusions are only tentative. Dr. Van Praag rejects the theory that the *tirhātu* was a purchase price and explains it as originally merely a token that an agreement on marriage had been made between the families of the two parties. In historical times, he maintains, it was superseded by a written agreement and became optional. He cites no evidence, however, for the use of such tokens in early Babylonia or Assyria, nor does he show why other survivals of such a practice are lacking. Dr. Van Praag distinguishes between "marriage conclu", which he considers a more accurate term than "betrothal", and "marriage consommé". He criticizes Koschaker's theory of interpolations in the Assyrian Code, finds no support for the view that marriage gave a husband patriarchal rights over his wife, and holds that a special form of levirate marriage existed

in Assyria. There are excellent indexes of texts, Accadian words, and subject-matter, and a useful bibliography up to the early years of the war. Misprints are few and unimportant.

C. J. MULLO WEIR.

Far East

TIBETAN WORD BOOK. By Sir BASIL GOULD, Indian Civil Service, Political Officer in Sikkim and British Political Representative in Tibet and Bhutan, and EDWARD RICHARDSON, Indian Civil Service, formerly British Trade Agent at Gyant se, Tibet, and In Charge of the British Mission at Lhasa. With foreword by Sir AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., F.B.A., PH.D. pp. xiii + 447. Oxford University Press, 1943.

In this book, to employ the words of the authors, "endeavour is made to explain Tibetan as simply as possible. Advantage is taken of methods of teaching which are current in Tibetan schools. In the word book each of some 2,000 Tibetan syllables is taken in turn, in Tibetan alphabetical order, as a key syllable. Then come words of which the key syllable forms part, the other syllables being identified by their key numbers. The word book thus affords a select vocabulary of several thousand words, each syllable of which, with few exceptions, is explained." Let us give an instance :

74 *Kar* རྩཀར *dKar*, white རྩཀར་མཚོ། white-wash *Kar-tsi* . . . རྩཀར་མཚོ།

3308 *cup. Kayö*. The book does not pretend to be anything but a practical aid to students of colloquial Tibetan ; it is not concerned with philological subtilities : it combines words as they are found in the living language without examining the relation, if any, between the various roots. But as it is, it will prove very useful even to scholars, since it contains many words not found in other dictionaries. It complements Bell's Dictionary, and it has the great advantage of being a Tibetan-English dictionary and to afford a good help to readers of Tibetan documents. I may add that, being at present engaged in the translation of some popular songs and historical letters, I could experience the usefulness of the work. It is to be hoped that the authors collect, as promised, new materials from the living dialects.

To the dictionary two booklets are appended : the first contains 800 sentences likely to be used when travelling in Tibet or meeting Tibetan people. In the second 2,000 syllables are alphabetically

arranged as they are pronounced, then written, in Tibetan characters, and translated into English. To sum up the three volumes represents an easy approach to the study of colloquial Tibetan.

J. A. STEWART.

EUROPE AND BURMA. By D. G. E. HALL. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. viii + 182. Oxford University Press, 1945.

THE EASTERN FRONTIER OF BRITISH INDIA, 1784-1826. By A. C. BANERJEE. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp. vii + 584. Calcutta, 1946.

British interest in Indian problems is spasmodic. Nothing short of a frontier war or a revision of the Constitution is able to awaken the average Englishman from his apathy. It required a Japanese invasion to make him aware of the existence of Burma. Bearing this in mind, Dr. Hall, in his latest contribution to the history of Anglo-Burmese relations, has supplied the general reader with a useful introduction. It is a task for which he is well qualified, as his *Early English Intercourse with Burma, 1587-1743*, and his edition of the *Dalhousie-Phayre Correspondence, 1852-56*, are models of painstaking research. In the volume under consideration he has extended his studies to embrace a survey of European relations with Burma from the earliest contacts to the annexation of Thibaw's kingdom at the end of the Third Burmese War in 1886. The fact that the book is intended for the general reader probably explains the absence of documentation.

Professor Banerjee's volume is a piece of careful scholarship which provides us with a detailed history of British relations with Cooch Behar, Bhutan, Assam, Cachar, Jaintia, Manipur, and Burma from the British conquest of Bengal to the end of the First Burmese War. It is based on the manuscript material preserved in the Imperial Record Department at New Delhi. In addition he has consulted published sources in Assamese and Bengali, and has made some use of the Burmese chronicle, the *Konbaungset Yazawin*.

C. COLLIN DAVIES.

CHINA AMONG THE POWERS. By DAVID N. ROWE. New York : Harcourt, Brace and Co.

The war has made China one of the Big Five, by courtesy a Great Power : how far is she fitted economically, industrially, and politically to fill that rôle ? These are the questions which Mr. Rowe, with a wealth of careful detail, answers in this book. That it was

written before the end of the war in the Far East in no way affects the value of its guidance, although the writer did not foresee the present shocking civil war between Government and Communists or the sinister manoeuvres of Russia in the Far East. But these additional troubles only deepen the discouraging nature of Mr. Rowe's inquiries.

The book opens with a good account of why the Japanese failed to crush China, not certainly because of China's military strength but because they utterly misjudged the problem set by China's vast size and man-power, which enabled her continually to retreat until the enemy's communications were so drawn out that the Chinese, multitudinous though badly armed, could gather round and deal him condign blows. But after the Chinese Government's retreat to Chungking the war became a stalemate, only ending in victory through British and American help. More credit might have been given to General Chiang Kai-shek's superb leadership and the indomitable courage of the Chinese soldiers, ill-fed and ill-found as they too often were. But the plain fact is that China is not and cannot for many years be a great military power.

Nor are her resources adequate for this purpose. The late Dr. V. K. Ting, a profound geologist, who made an exhaustive survey of China, pointed out that her supposedly enormous mineral resources were much exaggerated. Of iron she has comparatively little; of coal, her best property, her estimated reserves of 230,000,000,000 tons are but a tenth of those of the United States, and these are mostly in the north with all the difficulty of deficient transport. Mr. Rowe speaks of the Government's large plans of industrial development; but skilled workers are lacking, it will take years to train them: and Mr. Rowe makes a good point in saying that "the psychology of the Chinese industrial labourer is not in harmony with modern machine industry as it is known in the West", though as an individual skilled craftsman he has few equals.

Beneath all else is the administrative problem. China is not and never has been a Republic. What she will presently become is an interesting question. One thing seems clear, namely, that the Kuomintang, or at least their one-party rule, must go. Mr. Rowe's description of the New Life Movement as a political invention of the Kuomintang's which "owed much of its inspiration to German and Italian fascist models", suggests that he has never studied its precepts, which were well described by the late Sir Reginald

Johnston as pure Confucianism with some additions from American Puritanism. On the other hand, the Communists appear to have nothing permanently acceptable to China. The one supreme need, the only condition of future prosperity for China, is that better conditions should be won for the peasants, who are four-fifths of the nation. However much China may industrialize herself she still has 450,000,000 mouths to fill.

The last chapter deals mainly with how China is to be defended (principally by America) until such time as she may be able to defend herself. It is a depressing thought that we have fought two world wars in thirty years and still seem unable to rise above a conception of security expressed in terms of naval bases, aeroplanes, and bombs.

O. M. GREEN.

RITUAL BRONZES OF ANCIENT CHINA. By PHYLLIS ACKERMAN.

11 $\frac{1}{4}$ \times 8 $\frac{3}{4}$, pp. viii + 48, 67 pls. New York: Dryden Press, 1945. \$6.

Some are content to estimate archaic Chinese bronzes solely as works of art and craftsmanship without inquiring into the evidence they offer about the distant past of a great civilization. Others regard cultural significance as the main interest, and well they may, since the primary purpose of the bronzes was to serve religious and social functions.

This book is not likely to be welcomed by either group, unless the one that values bronzes for æsthetic considerations is satisfied with the plates, apparently chosen with no other plan than to reproduce the best photographs readily available from certain museums and private collections. Seekers after cultural significance expect scholarly qualifications which the author obviously does not possess. We are accustomed to notions that the fertility complex lies at the root of all primitive art; here the designs on the bronzes are mostly explained as prompted by mere eroticism. "The phallicism is not procreative, but sensory," Dr. Ackerman asserts. Her interpretations strike me as fanciful and wholly unwarranted in the light of present knowledge. Reviving the old theory that Chinese civilization sprang from western Asia, she names the Anatolian-Azerbaijan region as the actual place of origin, but keeps her evidence for a future publication.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

ANNEXATION OF BURMA. By A. C. BANERJEE. pp. 1-338. Calcutta.

To Mr. Banerjee Burma is the eastern frontier of India. His book is a compilation, largely from unpublished sources, from which liberal quotations are given, connected by highly competent narrative. The result is, not a history of Burma during the period covered by the three Anglo-Burman wars, but a detailed and interesting account of the policy pursued by the British Government towards the rulers of Burma. Fresh light is thrown on the causes of the second war, which was brewing up from the date of the withdrawal of the British Resident at Ava and, at the most, only precipitated by the "explosive" Commodore Lambert. The same fatal effect followed King Mindon's denial of access to the British Political Resident in Mandalay. British records are kind to King Mindon, from whom some of his successor's troubles were inherited.

Place-names as they appear in Mr. Banerjee's book present some pretty problems: thus Nyaungshwe is disguised as Myaung Yuwe (p. 199), and on the same page Bhamo appears as Barno, though elsewhere correctly spelt.

J. A. STEWART.

BRITISH RULE IN BURMA, 1834-1942. By G. E. HARVEY. pp. 1-100. Faber & Faber. 1946.

In little over 40,000 words Mr. Harvey contrives to give a sketch of the ethnography and early history of Burma, a systematic account of British administration in all departments and of its effect on the people, and a summary of political developments under the constitutions of 1923 and 1937. Room is found for a great amount of statistical information and for critical comment.

Few readers will agree with all Mr. Harvey's views. Some will regret his attempts—no doubt well-intended—to lighten his subject by verbal frivolities. But all will be grateful to him for providing a well-arranged reference volume, a marvel of compression.

C. W. DUNN.

GUILLAUME BOUCHER: A FRENCH ARTIST AT THE COURT OF THE KHANS. By LEONARDO OLSCHKI. pp. x + 125, 10 pls., and 1 map. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1946.

This book is of a kind calculated to infuriate the exact Oriental scholar. The title is in itself an offence; the "Khans" referred

to are the Mongol Emperors Güyük and Möngke, who called themselves Qa'an, or possibly Qaghan, and used Khan as a very second-rate title. It was bad enough sixty years ago for Sir Henry Howarth to write a history of the Mongols without knowing any of the Oriental languages in which that history was written, but he was at any rate wealthy enough to employ scholars to translate some of the original sources for him. Even so his history suffered severely from this defect.

But for a modern scholar in the middle of the twentieth century to write about the Mongol court, when he is apparently completely ignorant of the Mongol, Persian, Chinese, and Arabic languages, is unduly venturesome. Yet the work is not wholly without merit; the author is at any rate well acquainted with the European sources, and states his references copiously; and his account of the Mongol court may be a not too inaccurate account of that court as seen by the contemporary European visitor.

GERARD CLAUSON.

RICHARD HAKLUYT AND HIS SUCCESSORS. Ed. EDWARD LYNAM.
D.Litt. 9 x 6, pp. 192 + lxviii. Hakluyt Society, 1946.

This readable book in the familiar Hakluyt cover commemorates the centenary of a Society, whose remarkable achievement stands for all to see in one hundred and twenty-five volumes. And the President tells us how "the number of members is larger than ever before, several new volumes are in course of preparation and by next spring the arrears in the issue of serial publications caused by the war will have been overtaken". But he notes as dangers ahead the present cost of book production and the lack of leisure of potential editors with their need to turn to profitable writing to meet the rise in taxation and the cost of living. The field of the Society's interests, however, is by no means exhausted. "We have done little justice to the numerous records of travel in the Pacific Ocean, in Africa and in Asiatic Russia during the eighteenth century." One wishes the Society fair sailing through new seas in its new century.

This volume contains a chapter on Richard Hakluyt by Dr. J. A. Williamson, chapters on Samuel Purchas, and on the Hakluyt Society by Sir William Foster and one on English Collections of Voyages and Travels, 1625-1846, by G. R. Crone and R. A. Skelton.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

PREHISTORIC RESEARCH IN THE NETHERLANDS INDIES. By ROBERT HEINE-GELDERN. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 129-167. New York City, 1945.

Austria's loss has been America's gain. For this article by Dr. Heine-Geldern (reprinted from *Science and Scientists in the Netherlands Indies*) is quite the most valuable summary of its subject that has ever appeared, combining as it does a wealth of detail with the brilliant deductions one has come to associate with its author's name. Its scope is indeed wider than the title implies, as light is thrown upon prehistoric research in the whole of South-East Asia, and the brochure brings home to us what a lamentable loss it will be to scientists of several nations if political readjustments in Indonesia stop or delay unduly further research in the Malay archipelago. Expeditions sponsored by America, as Dr. Heine-Geldern suggests, may be a way out of such an *impasse*. "The amount of work done during the fifteen years from 1926 to 1941 must not blind us to the fact that the enormous wealth of Indonesia in prehistoric remains has so far hardly been tapped." Conclusions, therefore, as Heine-Geldern says, must be tentative. And the theory of a Hallstatt origin for part of the Dong-so'n culture has been challenged already by Bernard Kalgren in his article on "The Date of the early Dong-so'n Culture" (*Bulletin* 14, Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, 1942). Dr. Heine-Geldern's paper concludes with a complete bibliography. My old friend, Dr. van Stein Callenfels, to whose memory the brochure is dedicated, could not have conceived a monument more suitable to his memory.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDONESIAN PEOPLES AND CULTURES. By RAYMOND KENNEDY. $10\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 212. Yale University Press. 16s. 6d.

The author claims that this useful work represents a close approximation to complete "coverage" of all books and articles on the peoples and cultures of Indonesia. That may be so, but oddly enough the Malay Peninsula is excluded, only a few works on it being listed under Sumatra! Neither Skeat's "Malay Magic" nor Skeat and Blagden on "Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula" nor my own "Shaman Saiva and Sufi" appear. These are a few of many omissions. There is no mention of the English translation

of Brandstetter's Indonesian Linguistics. Dr. Blagden is wrongly credited with being my partner in a Dictionary of Colloquial Malay. It is to be hoped that this nucleus of a useful work may be corrected and enlarged by specialists in each section. It might be more useful to list the books under subjects than under areas.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

HISTOIRE ANCIENNE DES ÉTATS HINDOUISÉS D'EXTRÊME-ORIENT.

By G. COEDÈS. 93 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$, pp. i-viii, 1-366. Hanoi, 1944.

Professor Coedès sprang to fame as the discoverer of the Malayo-Buddhist kingdom of Çrīvijaya, whose site and dynasty have been debated ever since. The present important volume covers the Malay Archipelago (excluding the Philippines), Indochina, Malaya, Siam, and Burma. The first chapter disposes briefly of prehistory. The second handles the causes of Hindu expansion, the places from which the Hindus spread, and their methods of penetration. Though history in South-East Asia must be largely epigraphical, Professor Coedès has broken new ground by correlating it with events in India and China. "The contact established between the Mediterranean world and the east after Alexander's campaign, the foundation in India of the empire of Asoka and the later empire of Kanishka, the birth in the west of the Seleucid empire and of the Roman empire gave commerce in luxury articles a scope deplored by the Latin moralists of the first century. Gold, spices, sandalwood, eagle-wood, camphor, benzoin, were reckoned among the products of the lands beyond the Ganges." The supremacy of Pon-nan is linked with the troubled period of Chinese history under the Six Dynasties, the growth of Champa with the feebleness of the Tsin and Tch'en dynasties, the maritime power of Çrīvijaya with the weakness of China at the end of the T'ang period and under the Five Dynasties, the rise of Khmer, Cham, and Burmese dynasties with the feebleness of China under the Song dynasty at the end of the eleventh century. Finally, the Mongol conquests under K'oubilai Khan broke up Çrīvijaya, liberating the T'ai for incursions down the Malay peninsula and abetting the rising of Majapahit, conqueror of Sumatra and of Malaya south of the T'ai incursions. (The second ruler of Malacca was not Muhammad but *Megat* (= magadha) Iskandar Shah. That is a detail.) This scholarly work enhances, if possible, its author's high reputation.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

HINDU COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST. By R. C. MAJŪMDAR. pp. 1-242
+ 20 plates. Calcutta, 1944.

By a strange coincidence another scholar distinguished for his researches on the Hindu colonies in the Far East published this work in the same year that saw Professor Coedès' book printed under enemy occupation. The ex-Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dacca explains how nearly twenty years ago he planned a series of five volumes on Hindu colonies in the Far East. Three volumes have appeared. But as the war postponed publication of the two volumes dealing with Kambuja, Siam, Burma, and parts of Indo-China, Dr. Majūmdar decided to publish this briefer summary. While Dr. Majūmdar has neither adopted the chronological method of the French volume nor attempted to correlate the history of his area so closely with the events of world history, he has given us not only history but valuable pages devoted to art, religion, literature, and society. Students of Oriental history are fortunate to have two such scholarly works on a little-known area appear almost simultaneously.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

POUR MIEUX COMPRENDRE ANGKOR. Par G. COEDÈS. L'imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi, 1943.

Isolated under Axis domination, Indo-China led a stifled existence between 1942 and 1945. But still the French Far-Eastern School at Hanoi contrived to maintain those activities by which, since its inauguration in 1900, the ancient history of Annam, Cambodia, Champa, and Laos has been patiently pieced together. The method consists first in deciphering ancient inscriptions; then in studying them in relation to the Chinese classics and contemporary archaeological remains; finally in revising previous findings in the light of more recent discoveries. There can be no doubt that the prestige of France has been reinforced as a result of the labours of the distinguished Faculty who, for this reason alone, if for no other, are assured of sympathetic recognition by the head of the Indo-China administration. In 1943 the Governor-General, Admiral Decoux, offered to write a preface for this collected edition of eight lectures which Professor Coedès had been delivering at the Musée Finot in Hanoi.¹

¹ *Pour mieux comprendre Angkor*, G. Coedès. L'Imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi, 1943.

Coedès reveals Angkor as a Microcosm of the Universe, according to conceptions both of Hindu and Buddhist, current at the time of its construction. He shows how the dynasty, which ruled from Angkor over the Khmer empire from A.D. 802 onwards over the period of Cambodia's maximum expansion, was a continuation of the primitive Indo-Funanese kingdom at BA-PHNAM or BA-NAM in the delta. These names, with their Chinese variant, FUNAN, contain the same mountain-motif that recurs in one of the royal titles, "*King of the Mountain*"—PHNAM, in the form "*Phnom*", is still the word for "*mountain*". The delta-lands are devoid of hills; but their outcrops of rock appear to have served as symbols of Mt. Meru, which was regarded as a means of passage between earth and heaven. The tiered towers (Prasat) on palace and temple roofs were probably a development of the same notion. Jayavarman II ("*Shield that ensures victory*"), who founded the Angkor dynasty in 802, appears to have laid emphasis upon the king's divinity as well as on his association with "*the mountain*". It was upon a "*mountain*"—Phnom Kulen, the low cliff behind Angkor—that he elected to receive from the hands of a Brahmin the sacred *Linga* that was regarded as receptacle of the divine essence. When the city was removed to its present site, the crag, PHNOM BAKHENG, served the same purpose there as Phnom Kulen in the original city. Finally, after Angkor had been sacked in A.D. 1177 by the Cham, the last of its great kings, Jayavarman VII, rebuilt the city. By that time Mahayana Buddhism had replaced the Hindu creed, and the symbol of divine royalty was no longer the *Linga*. A Buddhist statue now served as tabernacle for the divine essence, and its features are thought to be those of the king himself. The new Angkor Thom lay within the boundaries of the earlier; its dimensions, however, were reduced, and the centre was no longer on Phnom Bakheng but in the Bayon itself, which became *the mountain* in place of Phnom Bakheng. Buddhism replaced the Hindu symbol with a statue of King Jayavarman VII, but made no diminution in his claim to be God as well as king. The walls, towers, and lake of his new capital can all be identified as features in the well-known design of the imaginary cosmic city; the *Naga* balustrade, for example, being a materialization of the Rainbow stairway from earth to heaven. The four faces of the surrounding towers are doubtless adaptations of the king's face to that of Lokesvara, the miraculous, "who hath a face on each of

his four sides." Evidences of demolitions synchronize with the reappearance of Hindu images and bear witness to the set-back that befell the Great Vehicle in the thirteenth century. The Hindu revival had but a transient triumph since, in the fifteenth century, the Thai conquerors introduced the Lesser Vehicle which for two centuries had been coming in from the West to remain the established religion of the country.

Coedès suggests that one reason for the superiority of Siam over Cambodia in warfare may have been the unpopularity of the forced labour exacted to construct the numerous memorials required for each king in turn. Nearly all the extant ruins are those of mortuary shrines, if not actual mausoleums. Thus, in every reign, new monuments had to be set up commemorating the previous ruler, if not in preparation for the death of the reigning king. During his life-time the king lived in a palace of wood, at best, and his subjects were housed even more humbly. So the economy under which magnificent monuments were built for the dead may well have reduced the able-bodied to a condition bordering on slavery.

This book contains several good illustrations and a sketch-map of Angkor, based upon studies conducted by Marchal and the late Victor Goloubev between 1932 and 1934.

The lectures supply a much needed *mise-au-point* in respect of errors and contradictions current as lately as 1928, when Marchal's *Archeological Guide* and the *Guide Madrolle* were published. The latter was corrected two years later, but only in the English edition. A new and excellent guide-book to Angkor by the present Conservator, Glaize, is inspired by the work of Coedès¹; but a revised history of Cambodia has yet to be written, showing her connection with Cochin-China and Siam in the past. Is it presumptuous to hope that Coedès may undertake it? It is not yet generally recognized that the Mekong delta-lands, until the mid-sixth century, formed the kernel of the KINGDOM OF THE MOUNTAIN (Fuman) that comprised a part of lower Annam, as well as all Cochin-China, since the VO-CAN inscription in Southern Annam (the earliest in South-East Asia yet known) is now ascribed by archaeologists to Cambodia instead of to Champa. Only in the early ninth century was the Khmer capital shifted from the delta-lands in Cochin-China to Angkor as a result of the influx during the

¹ *Les Monuments du Groupe d'Angkor*, par Maurice Glaize. Saigon, 1944, Albert Portail Editeurs.

two previous centuries into Funan of the Kambuja from the middle valley of the Mekong. Cochin-China nevertheless remained an integral part of the Khmer empire until after the annihilation of Champa by Annam in the fifteenth century—within a few years of the sack of Angkor by Siam. Thereafter Cambodia was powerless to resist aggression: her survival at all as a nation would appear to be the result of extraneous events that distracted the attention of her neighbours until the arrival of the French. Before that period the delta-land of Cochin-China had absorbed to a great extent the language and culture of the Annamese invaders, while Siam made good her occupation of the granary province of Battambang early in the nineteenth century. The future destiny of that province as well as the fate of Cochin-China now awaits a settlement which, to be lasting, must reflect the wishes of the present inhabitants, heirs to the richest portions of the former Cambodian empire.

G. H. HUTCHINSON.

India

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IDEAS OF BENOY SARKAR. Edited by BANESWAR DASS. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 664 + xix. Calcutta: Chuckervetty, Chatterjee and Co., 1940. Rs. 12.

A summary of the ideas of a well-known Bengal publicist and a statement of his literary and educational efforts, prepared by a number of collaborators. As an economist, sociologist, and educationalist, Professor Sarkar has been a voluminous writer of considerable independence, and this compendium of his work will be of interest to many of his fellow countrymen.

P. R. CADELL.

THE SIKHS: A STUDY IN COMPARATIVE RELIGION. By JOHN CLARK ARCHER. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 353 + xi. Princeton University Press, 1946. Oxford University Press. 25s.

This is a sympathetic study of the rise and development of Sikhism, more especially in its spiritual aspect and in its affinity with other religions in India. No fault can be found with the author's treatment of the spiritual history. In the factual or political history more stress might perhaps have been laid on the aggressive character of Ranjit Singh's regime, and on the moderation of British policy both before and immediately after the first Sikh

War. The statement that the British "seized Kashmir from its Dogra Raja" and then allowed him to buy it back is not accurate. The author derides the opinion of a Bengali scholar in 1896 that Sikhism was losing its vitality and drifting towards amalgamation with Hinduism. Yet he might have noticed the support given to Sikhism, in what was undoubtedly a slack period, by the insistence on the maintenance of the *pahul*, or baptismal ceremony, for recruits in the Sikh regiments of the Indian Army. Greater stress might also perhaps have been laid on the tendency to revert to the caste system of Hinduism, as shown by the establishment by Sikh ruling families of their Rajput connection at one end of the scale, and by the practical exclusion from the army, in the pre-war period, of the Mazbi Sikhs at the other end. The great increase of communal feeling, owing to the constitutional changes, is fully recognized. To this feeling must be ascribed much of the increase in the Sikh population between the Census of 1931 and that of 1941, which would indicate the inclusion of many *sahajdari* or "easy-going" Sikhs. The establishment of Sikhism as a separate "constituency", and the possibility of renewed conflict with a Muslim majority in the Punjab, has undoubtedly made Sikhism more conscious of its separatism. The author ends with the hope that the necessity for mutual concessions will be recognized in religious as well as in political matters.

P. R. CADELL.

EN BUNT INDISKE EVENTYR. Oversatt av STEN KONOW. pp. 156.
Oslo : Cammermeyers Boghandel, 1946.

This collection of Indian fairy-tales consists of translations from the Vasudevahin̄ḍi, an old Prakrit work written, according to H. Jacobi, not later than the sixth century A.D., in a dialect called by L. Alsdorf Archaic Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī. It contains the substance of the better known later recensions of the lost Br̄hatkathā, traditional source of the Indian magical romance. In it we are introduced to the Vidyādhara, a race of wizards, who can move in the air and change the shapes of themselves and others.

The translation is selective, being designed to exclude matter contrary to Western taste. There is no interruption of the flow of the stories through rigid bowdlerization, but legends of the Jaina saints, duplicated stories and long descriptions of female beauty have been omitted. The removal of this intrusive matter is

calculated to bring the translation close to what appears to have been the mother-story.

Professor Konow says in his preface that his translation is somewhat literal (nokså ordrett). The reviewer has checked two of the stories with the original Prakrit, "The man in the well and the honey" (a very early version of this famous apologue), and "The winning of Vegavati". The translations are smooth and exact and, while it must be left to Norwegians themselves to evaluate the story interest and the style, they can be confidently recommended to students for the elucidation of a text which is often difficult. One can only regret that the translation was not made in English.

The general reader and the student of folk-lore may be sure that they have before them a rendering upon which they can rely and the book is a welcome addition to the literature of "The Great Romance", about which N. M. Penzer appeared to have said the last word in 1928 in his monumental work *The Ocean of Story*.

ALFRED MASTER.

DHARMA-SAMUCCAYA, Compendium de la Loi, 1^{re} partie (chapitres I à V). Par LIN LI-KOUANG. Texte sanskrit édité avec la version tibétaine et les versions chinoises et traduit en français. (Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1946.)

In this book M. Lin Li-kouang has published the first five chapters of the Buddhist text Dharma-samuccaya, about the Sanskrit text of which we learned first from Sylvain Lévi (*Journal Asiatique*, 1925, 1, 35 ff.), who had discovered a manuscript in a private collection in Nepal with a colophon dated A.D. 1173. The contents are a miscellany of edifying verses on the Dharma excerpted by Avalokitasimha from the large Saddharma-smṛty-upasthāna-sūtra, a book of the Vaipulya class. The anthology resembles then the more famous Udānavarga. Sylvain Lévi gave the titles of the thirty-six chapters (*varga*) of these verses, "stances de type banal," and published twenty couplets of the sixth chapter, the Apramāda-varga. The present book comprises the Sanskrit text, corrected from a very corrupt manuscript by the help of the Tibetan and Chinese versions. A French translation is added. The 381 verses are of the usual gloomy type lightened only by the numerous similes, and treat in the first five chapters of victory (*jīta*), instruction in the Dharma (*dharmopadeśa*), the body (*kāya*), passage of

time (*parivarta*), and impermanence (*anitya*). The edition of this text is a work which needed to be done. For the introduction to the study of the book, however, the author refers to a separate publication entitled "L'Aide-mémoire de la Vraie Loi, Saddharma-smṛty-upasthāna-sūtra, Recherches sur un sūtra développé du Petit Véhicule" to be published in the *Bibliothèque d'Études du Musée Guimet*. It can already in this book be seen that the author has shown skill in eliciting a fair Sanskrit text from his unsatisfactory materials in accord with the versions. It may be noted that he has for the Tibetan used the Black Narthang Kanjur but not the Red Derge Kanjur, which exists in the Cambridge University Library and from which probably valuable readings might be expected. What else of critical value the author has been able to gather about the text can be known only when his other volume appears.

H. W. BAILEY.

THE MANSABDĀRĪ SYSTEM AND THE MUGHUL ARMY. By ABDUL AZIZ, Barrister-at-Law. pp. 242 + xli, 7 × 5. Lahore. Rs. 6.

The author gives a clear description of the system of *mansab*, or rank, employed by the Moghul Emperors, and of the difficult question of its development and exact meaning. The *mansabdars* formed a military aristocracy which proved an admirable instrument in the organization of Chengiz and Timur. The system deteriorated when applied to the differing peoples and circumstances of India, and when extended to include civilians whose military rank was nominal. The efforts made by Akbar and Shah Jehan to reform and maintain the system were not proof against the abuses and opportunities for fraud involved. Mr. Abdul Aziz agrees generally with the view taken by Mr. W. H. Moreland in his article in this *Journal* for October, 1936, and their conclusions will be widely accepted. The author gives an interesting description of the organization and probable numbers of the Imperial Army. The volume forms one of a series of handbooks which Mr. Abdul Aziz is preparing on the Institutions of the Court of the Moghuls. As he writes with lucidity and judgment, they should prove of great value.

P. R. CADELL.

LORD MACAULAY'S LEGISLATIVE MINUTES. Selected with a Historical Introduction by C. D. DHARKER. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 308. Geoffrey Cumberledge, Indian Branch. Oxford University Press, 1946. 18s.

When the British reader's mind turns to Macaulay's celebrated *Exodus to India*, he is apt to think of a young man in his early thirties devouring classic after classic in his library at Calcutta, and in his spare hours laying down the law for Indian education with words of scorn for "seas of treacle and seas of butter". But after all it was to improve the legislative and judicial procedure that Macaulay was deputed from England, and the volume under review gives us a good insight into the energy with which Macaulay pursued this primary official duty. About half the volume is devoted to a copy of thirty-five Minutes written by him in this capacity, and the remainder is taken up by careful summaries and comments by the Editor. The Minutes have been divided into some half dozen sections on such subjects as "The Black Act", "The Reform of Mofassil Courts", and so forth, and to obtain full value from the work one has to refer from the Minutes to the Comments and *vice versa* in each case. It would have been a help even to industrious readers if the Editor had prefixed to each Minute a very brief résumé of the conditions under which it was written, and we should have been glad also to know definitely which of the various Minutes were now being published for the first time. The detailed Comments by the Editor are, however, careful and illuminating, and give a useful and unbiassed picture of the background of Macaulay's work. We have, for instance, his differences with H. T. Prinsop and his attitude (reproduced later in the days of Ilbert) towards the European Community of Calcutta. The Minute on the Penal Code is given, but the Code did not take shape until long after Macaulay's time and little is said in this book by way of comment on it. It is a pleasure, however, to read in Macaulay's own words his views on points of legislative and judicial procedure: his objections, for instance, to "Preambles", his dislike of action *in forma pauperis*, and his opposition to the taxation of lawsuits; and there is much both in the Minutes themselves and in the Editor's comments which must be of interest to students of Indian jurisprudence, even when they have to wander among the ghosts of such obsolete entities as Principal Sadr Amins and the Sadr Diwani Adahat.

There is a pleasant touch in the Editor's Dedication to "My two grandfathers who generously financed my education in England". This is a form of "Preamble" which would have won the warm approbation of the son of Zachary Macaulay.

E. D. MACLAGAN.

JOURNAAL VAN DIRCQ VAN ADRICHEM'S HOFREIS NAAR DEN GROOT-MOGOL AURANGZĒB, 1662. Edited by Dr. A. J. BERNET KEMPERS. (Linschoten Vereeniging, Werken, vol. xlv.) The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1941.

François Bernier, the French traveller and physician, speaks at some length of "Monsieur Adrican", the ambassador of the Dutch East India Company, whom he describes as "un vray honeste homme, de bon sens et de bon jugement".¹ He also refers to his embassy in his *Minute upon the establishment of trade in the Indies*, dated 10th March, 1668.² It is gratifying that an accurate and profusely annotated edition of this embassy has now been made available by Dr. A. J. Bernet Kempers, professor at the University of Batavia.

The object of Dircq van Adrichem's embassy was to congratulate Aurangzēb on his accession and to obtain new *firmāns* confirming the privileges granted by Shāh Jahān. The party started from Surat the 22nd May, 1662, and followed the route by Aḥmadābād and through Rajputana. Much discomfort was experienced owing to the heavy rains, and on the way to Mālvarā the *kāfila* ran some risk of being pillaged by "Amrasje", i.e. Amar Singh the son of Chāndā, the notorious princely outlaw of Sirohi. A more serious cause of anxiety was the news of Aurangzēb's severe illness which reached the Ambassador at Mērtā. After his arrival at Delhi on 9th August the Emperor's extreme weakness caused great delay³; but Van Adrichem received much help and encouragement from the aged Khān-i-Sāmān Fāzil Khān (Alā ul Mulk Tūnī), a man of great learning, and from Iftikhār Khān, the Master of the Horse. It was not until the evening of the 14th September that the Dutch envoy was received in audience by the Emperor in the

¹ *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, A.D. 1656-1668. Transl. by A. Constable, 2nd ed. revised by V. A. Smith. London, 1916, pp. 127 ff.

² Transl. by Sir Theodore Morison, *JRAS.*, 1933, pp. 1-21.

³ The information regarding the time of the Emperor's illness given by Wm. Irvine in his note by Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, ii, p. 54, is confirmed by Van Adrichem's Journal.

"Ghuslkhāna". In October the object of the embassy in the shape of the desired *firmāns* was at last attained. After a stay of eighty-two days at Delhi the return journey was assumed on 1st November and travelling through Mālvā and by way of Burhānpur the ambassador reached Surat on 13th December.

It is interesting to compare the narrative of Van Adrichem's embassy with that of the journey accomplished half a century later and with a similar purpose by Ketelaar, who as an ambassador of the Dutch East India Company went all the way to Lahore where Aurangzēb's successor, Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh, was then encamped. Van Adrichem, travelling as a simple merchant, performed his journey, both along the Western and the Eastern route, without suffering any serious molestation. Ketelaar, though provided with a bodyguard and even with artillery, had considerably to deviate from the royal road for greater safety. Notwithstanding this precaution he was attacked all along the way between Surat and Delhi by every species of robbers who at that time invested the highways of India, and it was a marvel that he finally reached the coast. Half a century of misrule and warfare had reduced the realm to a desperate state of disorganization, disorder, and lawlessness.

J. PH. VOGEL.

Islam

HISTOIRE DE L'ORGANISATION JUDICIAIRE EN PAYS D'ISLAM. By E. TYAN. (Annales de l'université de Lyon.) pp. 504. 1943.

There are several misprints in this book and wrong references, and proper names are often misspelt. From one point of view the first part of this volume has nothing to do with the subject. A character in a novel was made to say, "Give him the job; he is a lawyer and knows everything." Muslims were of this opinion, and employed *kadis* in many tasks duly recorded here. The *kadis* of Tripoli became independent rulers of the town, to take an extreme case. Alongside the jurisdiction of the *kadi*, the right of direct appeal to the monarch existed; it was called technically *mazālim*. Here equity might be followed rather than the letter of the law. This procedure might be an appeal from the *kadi's* decision, but it was not necessarily so. The methods of *mazālim* varied from place to place and age to age; practice in Spain being different from that in the east. The writer sees in this a proof that

mazālim is derived from Sassanian practice; he does not allow enough weight to the customs of the bedouin Arabs. The last two chapters are given up to the police and the *muhtasib* and their relations to the *kadi*. Professor Tyan has collected his facts from a wide field, set them out clearly, and has not forced the evidence. If some questions receive halting answers, the fault is not his.

A. S. TRITTON.

Art, Archæology, Anthropology

FIGURES OF SPEECH OR FIGURES OF THOUGHT. By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY. London: Messrs. Luzac and Co. 10s. 6d.

Each of these seventeen Collected Essays touches on some aspect of the traditional theory of art. Dr. Coomaraswamy denounces European scholarship when it seeks to divorce the purely æsthetic quality of a work of art from its spiritual origin and content. The understanding of Buddhist art is quite beyond the competence of the rationalist mind that regards the æsthetic surface appeal as valid in itself. Dr. Coomaraswamy deplores the divorce of *use* and *ornament*. Art should seek to establish values of *use* before those of *ornament*. The purely æsthetic qualities, "adequate relations of masses and so forth," are merely "art-forms", whose inner meaning has dried out of them and left them empty shells. The proper nature and purpose of "art-forms" or "images" is nowhere better defined than in Plato's *Republic* (Jowett, 510 D.E.): "... do you not know ... that although they make use of the visible forms ... they are thinking not of these, but of the ideals which they resemble; not of the figures which they draw ... but they are really seeking to behold the things themselves, which can only be seen with the eye of the mind?" ; which, indeed, expresses the same idea as St. Basil's formula: "The respect that is paid to the image passes over to its archetype" (*De Sancta Spiritu*).

How did the Buddha come to be represented in an anthropomorphic form? Dr. Coomaraswamy answers, because the Enlightened One had "to reveal himself in accordance with the nature of those who perceive him". Early Indian art had employed only geometrical, vegetable, or theriomorphic symbols as "supports of contemplation", not from inability to represent the human figure; for the human figure had been carved very skilfully in the third millennium B.C. But the Buddha was represented only

by Footprints, or such symbols as the Tree or the Wheel. Vedic prophets were forever seeking to track the Hidden Light by the traces of its footsteps. When the Buddha was asked by what symbol he could properly be represented in his absence, he answered by a Bodhi-tree (a *paribhoga-cetiya*). The symbol of the Tree is not Buddhist. The Vedas speak of a Great Yakṣa (Brahman) moving on the waters in a fiery glowing at the centre of the universe in the likeness of a Tree, and this Burning Bush, the Single Fig, is called in the Upaniṣads the "one Awakener" (*eka sambodhayitr*), and everlasting support of the contemplation of Brahman. The representation of a "deified" Buddha arose after the Great Awakening, when the Buddha was no longer thought of as a man among other men, but as "the form of humanity that has nothing to do with time". Dr. Coomaraswamy emphasizes that the provision of æsthetic pleasure from the Buddha image was a necessary concession to those incapable of attaining the direct vision.

Purely abstract art is adapted to contemplative uses, and implies a *gnosis*; anthropomorphic art evokes an emotion corresponding to prayer and supplication. "The Madonnas of Raphael and Titian," wrote Emerson, "were made to be worshipped"; they were not "a mere flourish to please the eye". It is only the few who can afford to dispense with theology, ritual, and imagery. We need to see the image of the Buddha before we can see the Buddha in the image. The Buddha image is not a naturalistic portrait, "not a reflection of anything that has been physically seen, but an intelligible form or formula." The majority cannot maintain themselves upon the "unsullied plane" of pure iconographic characteristics, on "a mere painting in colour on space". The master-painter disposes his colours for the sake of a picture not to be found in the colours nor in things themselves. It is only to make it acceptable to creatures for whom there is still object and subject that the picture is contrived.

The work of art is but the dark form of what in itself is the perfect brilliance. We can only rightly carve and paint, or contemplate what is carved and painted, as students of "the mystery of Form". For, "as nothing can be said to have been intelligibly uttered unless in certain terms, so nothing can be said to have been revealed unless in some form."

VICTOR RIENAECKER.

LA COMPOSITION PLASTIQUE DANS LES RELIEFS DE L'INDE. By
M. M. HALLADE. pp. xix + 107, lxviii tab., and viii photo-
graphs. Paris : A. Maisonneuve, 1942.

The author outlines the historical evolution of those Indian sculptures, representing several figures, listed under the purposely vague term "reliefs". Omitting statues and, in general, representations of a single figure, she faces the difficult problem of seeking out and making clearly visible the slight thread linking, through different styles and schools, many types of reliefs, varying in size and technique or in their relations with architecture.

The author sets aside the most ancient specimens of the Indus civilization as separated by some twenty centuries from true Indian sculpture. She collects remarkable data on works which extend from the third century B.C. to Ajanta and Ellora. Her material is distributed in two parts : a first period before Gupta art, and a second comprising the art of the Gupta and later times.

Miss Hallade has an excellent knowledge of the technique of sculpture ; to this gift, rather rare among historians and critics, she joins vast information concerning Indian iconography and the ideas it proceeds from. The general characteristics of compositions are examined school by school, under their various aspects : symmetry, asymmetry, regularity, elements of localization, disposition of planes. Often the author divides her treatment according to the most frequent aspects of a given school's production : thus she deals with reliefs ornamenting architecture apart from small bas-reliefs on the bases of statues ; friezes are separated from ornamental motifs, and so forth. Her contribution of original ideas, partly correcting views so far rather prejudiced on debatable subjects, is important. We shall quote only one instance among many : her objective appraisal of Mathura art (pp. 45-6 and 52) which avoids the excessive admiration of some critics and the negative judgment of others. Research on the evolution linking the small Sāñcī reliefs with the works of Amarāvati, induces the author to consider Amarāvati's anecdotal sculpture as the most spontaneous and charming in India.

The author, after praising the free and naïvely fanciful spirit pervading Bārhut art, considers that it contains the prototypes of Buddhist narrative sculpture. But she adds : " Les figurations ne cherchent pas à créer l'illusion de la vie, mais à évoquer des idées ;

un lien mental unit les figures, mais elles ne forment pas obligatoirement des groupes observés. D'autant de ses moyens, l'artisan de Bārhut a d'ailleurs eu la prudence d'indiquer par une inscription le sujet des divers bas-reliefs et il fait appel à maintes conventions iconographiques que les études faites par M. Foucher ont permis de discerner."

The Bārhut artist, placing side by side, in one single space, different moments of the same episode, with synoptic vision, relied on what may be for us simply a mental link, but had quite a different meaning for him. (See the representation which Plato calls fantastic or representative, *Sophist*. 235-6 and *Resp.* 598 ff., and wholeheartedly preferred.)

These same artists, in representing animals, have solved complex problems through a figurative language typically sober, although unusual. But we should be doing them less than justice, were we to think that they may have used symbols from distrust of their means of expression. The loving care Bārhut artists bestow on the representation of animals, lifting them to the same plane as the human motifs of other schools and other lands, reveals a true and authentic art. Miss Hallade does not forget to stress these and other gifts, which give the Bārhut school an important place in the evolution of Indian art.

As for human postures, Indian sculptors had mastered the third dimension, solving the problem of bodies twisted and turned round, from the time of Mohenjo Daro's and Harappa's extremely ancient statuettes. In this respect influence of pre-Aryan Indus civilization looms large over the entire artistic production of India. The only exception is the Græco-Roman Buddhist school of Gandhāra, whose evolution partly follows the same curve as Roman imperial art, but is ahead of it in the use of that peculiar iconographic manner found in some reliefs of the arch of Constantine. Iranian influxes and reflections of India's different experience influence some of its works, but the problem of bent and twisted bodies is substantially different in the Gandhāra school as compared with other Indian schools. Neither should we forget that, from Sāñcī to Ellora, the artist unconsciously uses *chiaroscuro* effects, derived precisely from the twist and disposition of bodies, to obtain harmonic ends. This is particularly visible in Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa works.

The author states that "Græco-Buddhist art, after having multiplied the Buddha's human aspects, representing him

successively as Prince Siddharta, as Gautama the ascetic, and as the monk Śākyamuni, make him the Buddha of the Great Śrāvasti Miracle, the 'awakened', the being who rules over the worlds. The smaller reliefs reveal a human being called to *bodhi*, the one who receives with soft emotion his horse's farewell or preaches familiarly among his disciples. In the steles, on the contrary, the evolution of form and composition evoke the Buddha as a metaphysical entity, isolated from surrounding figures. . . . This change in the effect of sculpture reflects the transformation which took place in Buddhist thought in the first centuries of the Christian era, at the moments when Hināyāna beliefs were increasingly supplanted by the dogmas of Mahāyāna." But if we accept, as Miss Hallade does, the idea that the Buddha's image was born by applying the Mahāpuruṣa's signs to the Greek Apollo, we cannot think that the Buddha's figures have had different values in various periods and works of Gandhāra art, even if it is true that the Mahāyāna school stressed metaphysical characteristics, until it turned into Tantric mysticism. The symbols used to represent the Buddha in schools preceding that of Gandhāra already presuppose a theological vision of the Buddha, no longer as a human form, but as a universal cosmic principle. These symbols are all originally of a solar character, which the Gandhāra artist has perfectly translated into human form, using Apollo's figure, to which are applied the Mahāpuruṣa's signs. The Buddhas of the small reliefs can hardly have a value different from that of the other images, neither do I think it is possible to consider representations of the episodes preceding the enlightenment from a fully human point of view. These representations cannot be dissociated from the Buddha's legend, which, as Sénart, Mus, and Coomaraswami have shown, is rather of a cosmic than of a human character. If the artist, when creating the groups which represent single episodes, expresses his human feelings, he does not, for this reason, touch the Bodhisattva's central image, which retains untouched its abstract value, whether he is considered as a prince, an ascetic, or a monk.

Miss Hallade's is an excellent contribution to the study of the history of Indian art.

BUSSAGLI MARIO.

Miscellaneous

RECHERCHES SUR LE VOCALISME, LE CONSONANTISME ET LA FORMATION DES RACINES EN "NOSTRATIQUE" (ANCÊTRE DE L'INDO-EUROPÉEN ET DU CHAMITO-SÉMITIQUE). Par A. CUNY. pp. vii, 164. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1943.

The term "nostratique", coined by H. Pedersen (nostratische Sprachen) to denote such languages as might ultimately be proved to be related to the Indo-European group, is here restricted to the hypothetical Indo-European-Hamito-Semitic family. "Nostratic" may not meet with general approval, but some term may prove to be necessary to denote the larger group; and Nostratic may serve for the time being.

This book carries a stage further the author's "Études pré-grammaticales" (Paris, 1924), and subsequent articles,¹ and those who have not been convinced hitherto will find little new to convince them of the original unity of the two groups. No detailed and rigorous proof of the relationship has as yet been supplied. The most that can be said at present is that the work of H. Möller and his disciple Cuny suggests that a further, and somewhat more critical, investigation might be profitable.

For the vowel-system, it is stated at the outset but nowhere proved that the primitive Nostratic possessed (apart from the sonants *y*, *w*, etc.) a single vowel which appeared in two contrasting aspects, "non-emphatic" (*ā*) and "emphatic" (*ʷ*), becoming IE *e* and *o* respectively; when unaccented, Semitic *i* and *u*, but when accented, Semitic *a* in both cases. Such a theory would naturally require for its establishment a detailed and comparative study of vowel-patterns in the two groups, to discover any agreement there might be between their methods of forming derivatives of similar function. Something of the sort is indeed hinted at in the discussion of Semitic formations (pp. 18-34), but the treatment is hardly systematic, and is not sufficiently comparative.

Following Henry's suggestion² that the IE *e* was a vowel roughly equivalent to the French "e-mute" (though rather of a "palatal"

¹ For a list of writings on the subject, see Cuny's note in *Mélanges offerts à J. van Ginneken* (Paris, 1937), pp. 141 ff.

² *De l'analogie*, dissertation, Paris, 1883.

colour), Cuny goes further and maintains, without any demonstration or proof, that the Nostratic *ā* was a "voyelle sourde", a description he is careful to amplify—"dépourvue de vibrations glottales." Voiceless vowels are of course known (e.g. in Portuguese, and occasionally in French). But such a startling pronouncement on the nature of the IE *e* (equally with the Nostratic *ā*) requires, one feels, rather more justification than a mere *ipse dixit*. It is, moreover, difficult to see what gain may accrue from such a theory.

Kuryłowicz's explanation of Sanskrit *prātā-* has been misunderstood (p. 48). The hypothetical form is not **plea₁-tō-*, but **pl^aea₁-tō-*, with a reduced grade of the root. Nevertheless, Cuny starts from the former, which he rightly considers to be impossible, and therefore holds *prātā-* to be a purely analogical form (based on *āprāt*, *paprātha*)—in itself, of course, a perfectly feasible explanation.

The ruling concept in the treatment of the consonantal system of Nostratic is again the opposition of emphatic and non-emphatic sounds, the hypothesis being illustrated by the treatment of *y*, *w*, *r*, *l*, *m*, and *n* in Greek and Armenian. The divergent treatment of IE *y* in Greek (Sansk. *yah*, *yugam*; Gk. *ός*, *ζυγόν*) has always been a problem, and various scholars have assumed two separate IE sounds, say, *y* and *ž* (so Möller). Cuny, however (pp. 57–8), considers that "ce *y* spécial . . . est mal symbolisé par *ž* qui reste vague ; il faut noter *Ȳ*, car il s'agit d'un phonème emphatique à l'origine." Had the author been an unknown amateur of the subject, the *ex cathedra* nature of statements such as this—for no further proof is given of the "emphatic" nature of the sound in question—and the naïve attitude to questions of phonetics and symbols displayed here and elsewhere in the book would certainly have cast serious doubts on his linguistic qualifications and called forth severe criticism. M. Cuny is, however, a linguist of established reputation who has made valuable contributions to the study of Indo-European and it is therefore all the more regrettable that he should have permitted himself such forms of expression, which, though they may not detract from the value of the book as a whole, are nevertheless bound to create a most unfortunate impression.

A similar explanation is given for the other sonants. For the unemphatic *w*, Attic Greek shows the rough-breathing, Armenian *v* (*w*), e.g. Gk. *έξ*, Arm. *vec'*; while for *W* (notation for the "emphatic", following Möller), Greek has the smooth breathing, Armenian *g*, e.g. Gk. *οἶδα*, Arm. *gitem*. Thus, too, Arm. *aregahn*

"sun", as contrasted with *arew*, is ingeniously explained by **ReW-ə₃okn-* < **Rew-ə₃okn*,¹ the "laryngeal" *ə₃* being considered to be emphatic, and so to cause the assimilation of the originally non-emphatic *w*.

The emphatic forms of *r*, *l*, *m*, *n* are held to explain the prothetic vowel of Greek and Armenian: IE *n* > *ν*, IE *N* > *av*, etc. No notice is taken of Kuryłowicz's theory that these prothetic vowels represent one or other of the so-called "laryngeals", e.g. **ə₂ner-* [Cuny, *Ner-*], Gk. *ἀνίρ*, Skt. *nar-* (confirmed also by **su-ə₂nr-to-* > Skt. *sūrta-*). The example of Arm. *aregakn* mentioned above suggests that this theory might have been profitably considered in relation to these "emphatics". One of the chief objections to the theory as it stands is that all too frequently it is necessary to postulate an apparently motiveless alternation between emphatic and non-emphatic in the same root. In other words, it does not in any real sense advance our knowledge, but merely translates facts already known into a new symbolism.

The last part of the book, dealing with the formation of roots in both groups of languages, is more directly comparative than the preceding parts. Full use is made of the theory of root-enlargements and determinatives; but outside the field of Indo-European (and occasionally within it) the discussion is more ingenious than convincing. One has to operate with such small fragments of words that the probability of a real genetic relationship rather than a chance coincidence is very small. This method of analysis can lead to such absurdities as Möller's comparison of the first personal pronoun in Indo-European and Semitic, which amounted to no more than saying that the word in both groups commenced with a glottal stop plus some vowel. Typical of Cuny's examples is the Nostratic *wā*, to weave, giving rise not only to IE **we-ə₁-* > Skt. *vānam*, **we-y-* > Skt. *vayati*, **we-bh-* > Skt. *ubhnāti*, Gk. *ἰφαίλω*, etc., but also to Semitic **ha-wa-ka* > Arab. *hāka*. Before this type of study can hope to make real progress, more attention must be paid to scientific method.

Many of the individual etymologies throughout the book are worthy of attention, and it is a pity that the author has not made them more readily accessible by providing an index.

JOHN BROUGH.

¹ Rather *-ə₃ə^hw-* (*-ə₃ə^hw-*)? Cf. also Meillet, *Grammaire comparée de l'arménien classique* (2nd ed.), p. 41.

STUDIES IN THE MIDDLE WAY. By CHRISTMAS HUMPHREYS.
London : Luzac and Co. 6s.

This second and enlarged edition will correct many wrong impressions about Buddhism. All the differences of religious beliefs Buddhism regards as "the coloured sets of clothing with which men have endowed the naked Truth". But perhaps its most important message for the west to-day is its insistence on the inability of intellect alone to encompass the full nature of the ultimate reality or the complete character of Deity. Buddhism, however, is not negative, nihilistic, or godless in the sense that it denies life and the existence of a supreme Intelligence. What it denies is that the human creature can ever be the complete knower. It welcomes life with open hands in the spirit of Thoreau when he said : "I know that the enterprise is worthy. I know that things work well. . . ." Jung means the same thing when he translates the Taoist doctrine of *wu-wei* as learning "to let things happen", which he says is "a real art of which few people know anything . . .". "Buddhism," Christmas Humphreys writes, "accords with Science in the sense that it argues from the known to the unknown, and looks upon such principles as must, at the beginning, be accepted upon faith merely as working hypotheses for the individual to prove or disprove in the course of his own experience."

VICTOR RIENAECKER.

AMBROSIAN FRAGMENTS OF AN ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT CONTAINING THE ZOOLOGY OF AL-ĠĀHĪZ. By O. LÖFGREN. pp. 39, pl. 24. (Recueil de travaux publié par l'Université d'Uppsala, 1946, 5.) Uppsala. 1946.

In the Ambrosian library at Milan are parts of an illuminated manuscript, the *Book of the Animal*, by al-Jāhiz. This will be valuable for textual criticism, especially as it is vocalized, but even more interesting are the pictures illustrating the text, all reproduced here, not, unfortunately, in colours, but in black and white. The men and women are conventional, but the animals are very lively. The artist has a sense of rhythm and a feeling for decoration. In Dr. Löfgren's text references are given to the two printed editions. Dr. Lamm assigns the pictures to the fourteenth century or a little earlier ; a date the style of writing supports.

A. S. TRITTON.

FRANZ XAVIER IN JAPAN. By GEORG SCHURHAMMER. 9 × 6, pp. 1-47. (Administration der Neuen Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft. Schoneck/Beckenried (Schweiz), 1947. 4s.)

Francisco de Xavier, better known as Francis Xavier (1506-1551), of Spanish birth, and associated with Loyola in the formation of the Society of Jesus, was chosen to preach in the Indies, Travancore (where he baptized 10,000 natives); and eventually he carried his mission to Japan. In Malacca he had met a Japanese exile, Yajiro (Anger, Angero, or Anjiro), who fired him with zeal to convert the people of the Rising Sun. Xavier lived in Japan from 1549 to 1551, and gained there many adherents to his faith. Georg Schurhammer has given us a scholarly and well documented account of his mission in that country.

Xavier is said to have taken an organ to Japan, and other Jesuits brought harpsicords, violins, and flutes, with the result that native schools were established for the study of these foreign instruments, one at Azuchi, near Kyōto. But with the closing of the country to all foreign intercourse, the influence of Western musical culture ceased for three hundred years. Similarly, the Gospel of Jesus preached by Xavier and his missionaries had only a short-lived effect upon the Japanese.

VICTOR RIENAECKER.

OBITUARY NOTICES

Professor M. Th. Houtsma

Martinus Theodorus Houtsma, who died, ninety-two years of age, on the 9th February, 1943, had been an Honorary Member of the Society since 1902. Born on the 15th January, 1851, at Irnsum, he was educated at the Latin School at Dokkum in his native Friesland and subsequently at the University of Leyden. In 1875 he graduated as Doctor of Theology with a dissertation entitled *De strijd over het dogma in den Islam*. From 1874 to 1890 he was Assistant Keeper of the Oriental MSS. at Leyden and for part of this period Lecturer in Persian and Turkish at the Islamic Institute. In 1890 he was appointed Professor of Hebrew at Utrecht and elected a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences. In 1917 he retired from his professorship, but continued to live at Utrecht.

The series of Houtsma's works opens with the dissertation mentioned above. In 1877 he published the index volume to the *Catalogus codicum orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae*. He and his senior, de Goeje, were jointly responsible for the first volume of the greatly enlarged second edition of the *Catalogus* published in 1888. In 1878 appeared the first of his editions of Oriental texts, *Akhtal, Encommium Omayyadarum*. Two more Arabic texts followed, the *Kitāb al-addād* of Ibn al-Anbārī in 1881 and the important history of al-Ya'qūbī in 1883. From 1886 to 1902 were issued the four volumes, two in Persian, one in Arabic, and one in Turkish, of his *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seljoucides*. In view of his special acquaintance with the authorities for Saljūqid history he was naturally asked to write the article on the Seljūks in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. In 1921 he published the small volume entitled *Choix de vers tirés de la Khamsa de Nizāmī* and he contributed an article entitled "Some remarks on the diwān of Nizāmī" to the *Volume of Oriental studies presented to Edward G. Browne* (Cambridge, 1922). Not the least of his services to Oriental studies was rendered as Chief Editor of the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, and it is probably in this connection that his name is best known at the present time.

Paul Pelliot

The loss of Paul Pelliot, within seven months of Maspero's death, was a misfortune as cruel as unexpected. He had attended the Hot Springs Conference early in 1945 and lectured at several American universities, staying in England for a few days on his return. Back at Paris, he developed cancer and passed away at the Hôpital de la Salpêtrière on 26th October.

Professor Pelliot was an Honorary Member of this Society as well as of the North China Branch, a Vice-President of the India Society, and a Corresponding Member of the British Academy, and he held honorary degrees of Cambridge, Hong Kong, and McGill universities. British sinologists share the grief of their French colleagues.

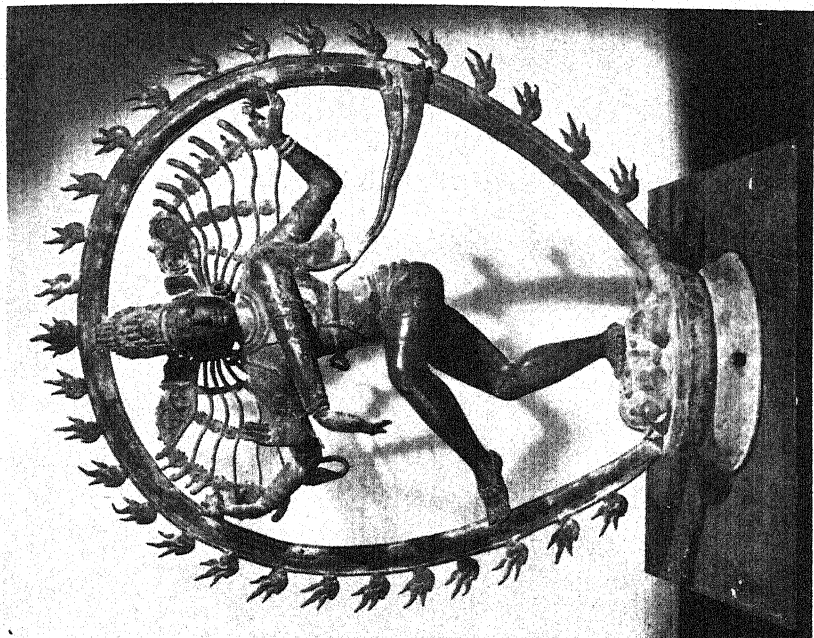
Pelliot was born at Paris on 28th May, 1878. Having graduated in Chinese and in Sanskrit he joined, in 1899, the Mission archéologique d'Indochine at Hanoi, then on the verge of being transformed into the École française d'Extrême-Orient. In three journeys to China between 1900 and 1902 he collected the nucleus of a magnificent Chinese library for the School, where he held the chair of Chinese from 1901. 1906 to 1909 were spent on another mission to China and Chinese Turkestan, when he secured for the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris about 30,000 volumes of Chinese printed books and 4,000-5,000 manuscripts in Chinese, Tibetan, Eastern Iranian, Soghdian, Uighur, and Tokharian, collected mainly at Kucha and at the Tun-huang caves. Pelliot at once realized the value of the Tun-huang library and his discoveries caused a sensation among learned circles in the East as well as the West. A Professorship of the Languages, History, and Archæology of Central Asia fell to him as the natural reward, the chair being specially created at the Collège de France in 1911. More duties and honours accrued to him, the more his leading position among French orientalist became established. He was elected a Member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres in 1921 and President of the Société Asiatique in 1936.

Western sinologists recognized Pelliot as their master. An indefatigable worker, his literary production has been immense. It is scattered in a score of journals, especially the *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, the *Journal Asiatique*, and *T'oung-pao*, of which he was co-editor from 1920 and editor from 1925. Many of these papers are of considerable length, but to stress

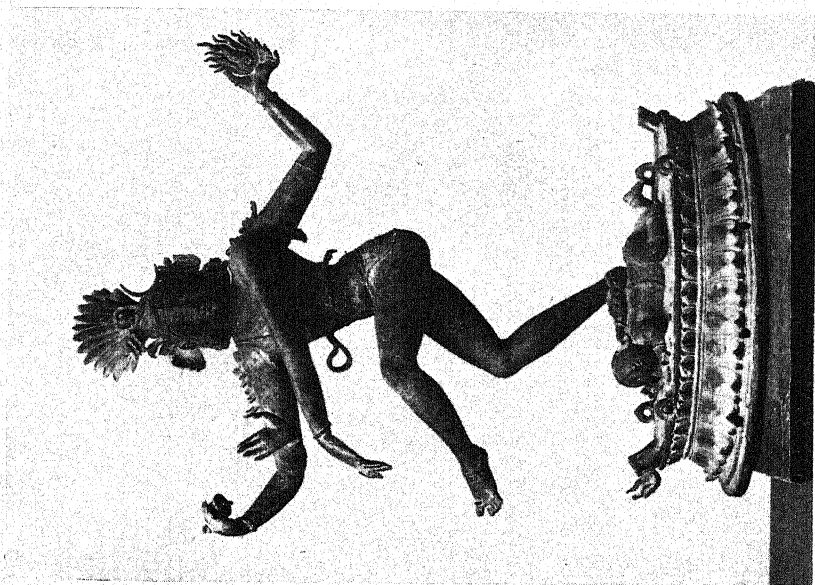
their occasional character they were never published as books. Reviews and bibliographical records form a substantial component of his work. He did more than anyone else in his time to combat amateurism, still the great danger to Far Eastern studies, by this self-denying effort.

A great collector, Pelliot was the first European scholar to acquire an adequate knowledge of Chinese bibliography. His insistence upon a strict presentation of sources marked a notable advance in the methods of sinology. His interests were catholic, and there is no field of Chinese and related studies which did not benefit from his activities (*Notes de la bibliographie chinoise*, 1902, 1909; *Une bibliothèque médiévale retrouvée au Kan-sou*, 1908; *L'édition collective des œuvres de Wang Kouo-wei*, 1929; *Le Chou king en caractères anciens*, 1916; *À propos du Keng tche t'ou*, 1913; *Les "Conquêtes de l'empereur de la China"*, 1921; *Les grottes de Touen-houang*, 1920-4; *Jades archaïques de la Chine* appart. à M. C. T. Loo, 1925). The part of Pelliot's work devoted to border provinces and China's relations to the outside world may seem disproportionate. Primarily, he had to answer the pressing claims of more developed sister-branches of learning, seeking information from Chinese sources, but his stupendous erudition was genuinely attracted by the very difficulty of the task. Even his remarkable contributions towards the history of religion in China were concerned with the imported rather than the indigenous forms. (*Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine*, with Chavannes, 1911-13; *Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'Extrême-Orient*, 1914; *Meou-tseu*, 1920; *Les Mongols et la papauté*, 1922-1931.) He was to become the uncontested authority on China's foreign contacts. (*Le Founan*, 1903; *Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIII^e siècle*, 1904; *Les grandes voyages maritimes chinois au début du XV^e siècle*, 1933-6; *Origine des relations politiques de la France avec la Chine*, 1930.) Problems of Altaic, and especially Mongol philology and history occupied Pelliot increasingly during his late years. This work had no time to mature fully. His edition of the "Mongol Secret History" remains unpublished. His "Notes on the Proper Names and Oriental Words in Marco Polo" will, it is hoped, appear in Professor Moule's edition in this country.

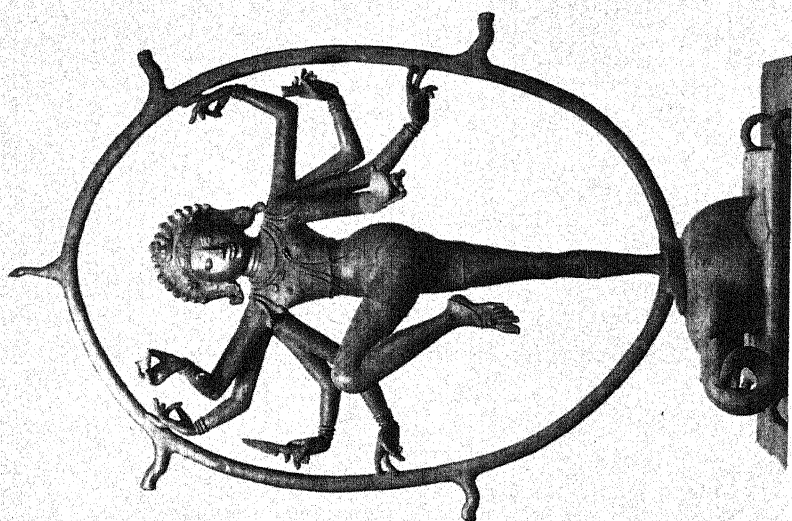
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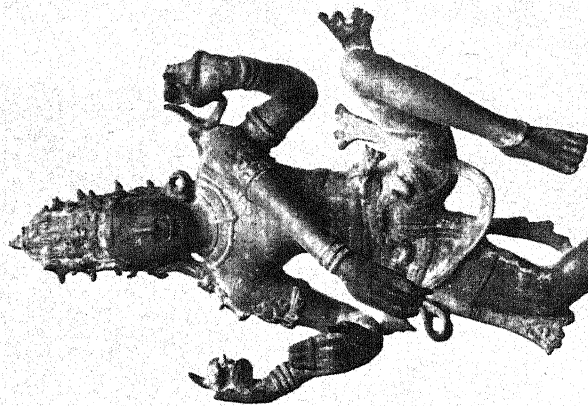
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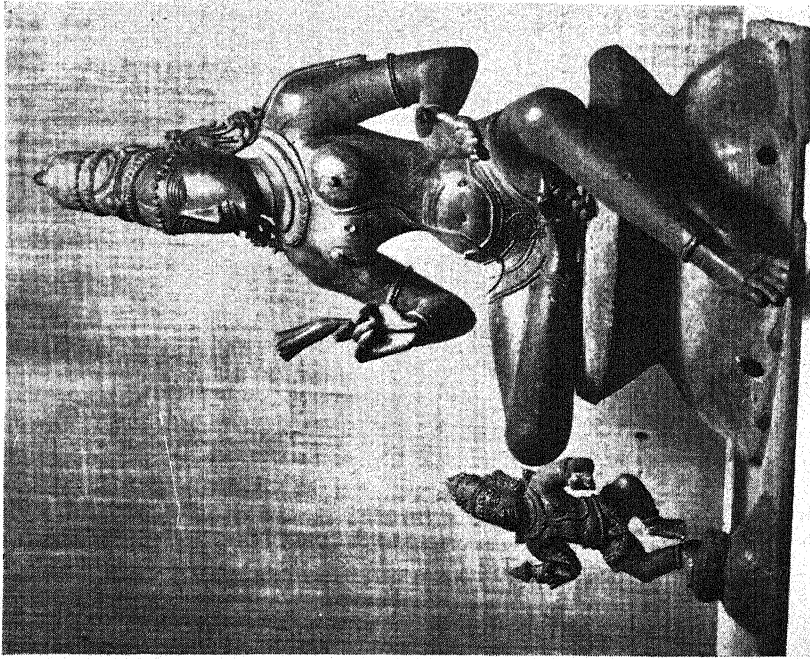
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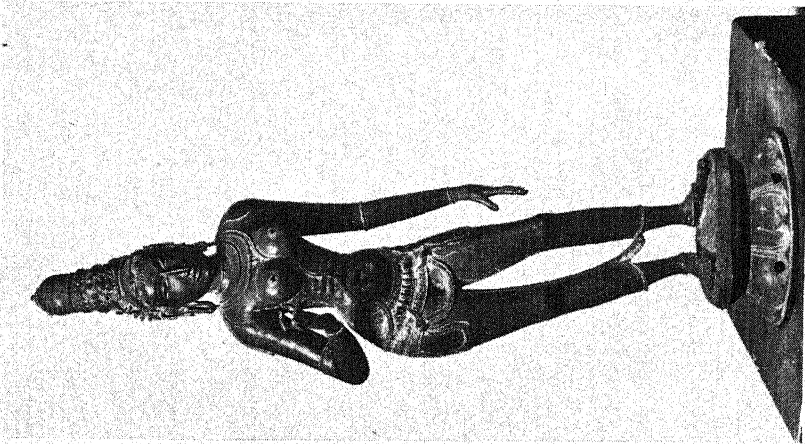
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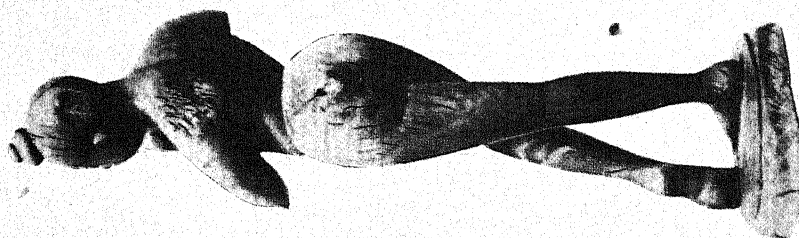
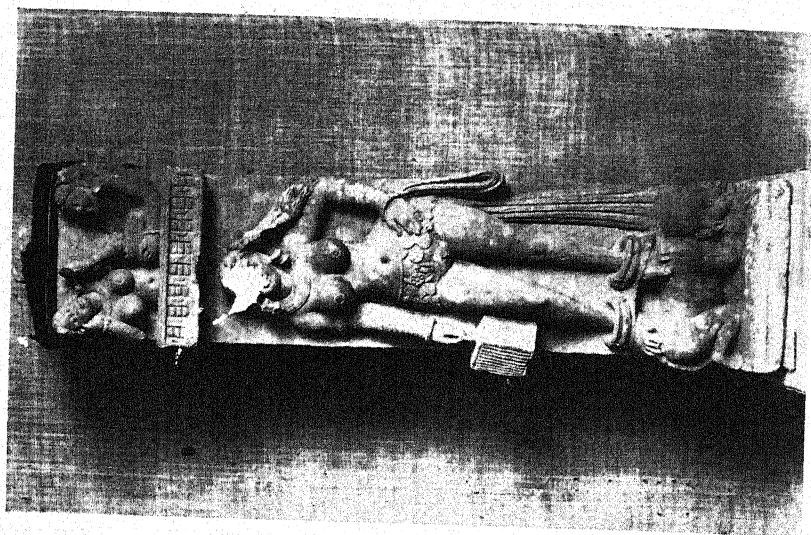
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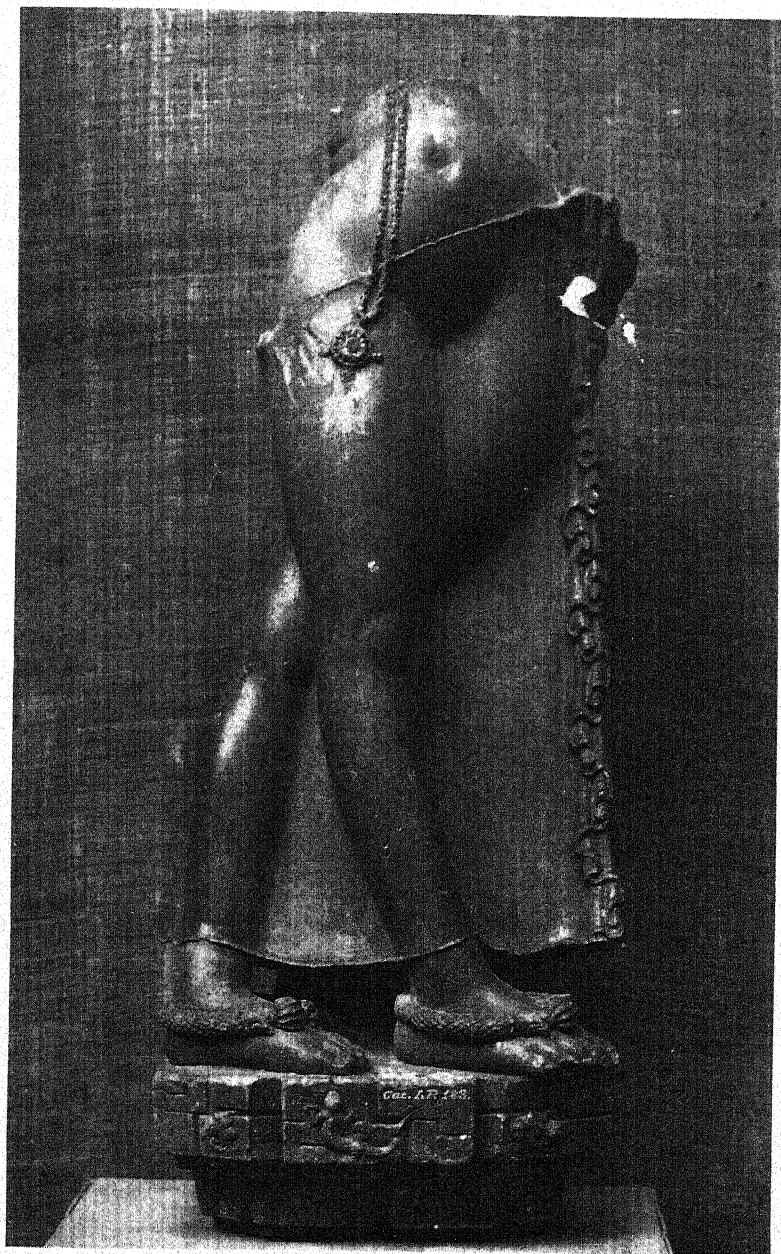
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Masterpieces of Oriental Art. 9

Some Indian Sculpture at the Royal Academy

By DORA GORDINE (The Hon. Mrs. Richard Hare)

(PLATES IX-XIV)

THE average quality of the sculpture at the Exhibition of the Art of India and Pakistan at the Royal Academy, London, is remarkably high. Naturally there is a bigger percentage of first-class pieces in bronze than in stone, because so much of the best stone sculpture is fixed in temples or carved on rock. The great Siva could not be moved from Elephanta nor a River Goddess from Ellora nor the Descent of the Ganges from the rock-face at Mamallapuram.

Prominent among the bronzes are Dancing Sivas. The one (Pl. IX, *a*) from the Government Museum at Madras, is the world's greatest masterpiece in this medium. Notable is the sensitive movement of the fingers, and of the toes. Seen from below the modelling of the thighs is superb. The face wears a triumphant look of pride and power. Compared with this masterpiece, the Dancing Siva on its right (Pl. IX, *b*) is clumsy. The face and the movement of the toes are rigid, and the moulding of each individual toe is insensitive. A very remarkable Siva is Sir Cowasji Jehangir's piece (Pl. X, *a*) entitled Gaja-sura Tandava. Resting upon one leg it breaks all the laws of sculpture, but retains a perfect balance, and being confined within a surrounding halo is an integral whole. Standing ready for his cosmic dance Siva wears an expression of sated cruelty. There is great virtuosity in the movements of the hands of this elegant god. Yet another Siva as Natesa (Pl. X, *b*) is further evidence that only an Indian can design a figure to stand on one leg erect without making it ridiculously top-heavy. The space between the legs of this Siva is almost enclosed by the foot that is pointed downwards; a feature as important as the composition of the solid bronze and securing for the whole piece a massive effect.

A very fine bronze is a static Parvati (Pl. XI, *a*) from the Madras Museum, with a subtle whimsical face. Rhythm vibrates through the left arm to the very thumb. There is rhythm, too, in the slightly curved edge of the skirt that joining the legs is parallel with the

curve of the left arm. A high head-dress balances this tall figure. Another Parvati (Pl. XI, *b*) from Calcutta in spite of being highly stylized and ornate is very much alive. The hands are sensitive. The projecting leg lolls at ease, saving the composition from monotony and giving Parvati an air of careless nonchalance. The space between waist and arms accentuates the rich modelling of the torso.

The Asutosh Museum, Calcutta, lends a fifteenth century wood-carving from Kansat, Malda (Pl. XII, *a*). Entitled a Gopala, it is a figure of perfect equilibrium. The face is strikingly sensitive, and the modelling of ankle and foot is marvellous. The carver has made good use of the grain in the wood, arranging it to accord with the rhythm of the arm and the rondure of the thigh.

Turn next to sculpture in stone. The colossal Mauryan figure from Patna (*Handbook of Indian Art*, ed. Richard Winstedt; Pl. II, *b*), lent by the Calcutta Museum, in spite of archaic simplicity and classical restraint, is a little flaccid. But a large Boddhisatva from Mutra, though crude in workmanship, is full of strength, with a powerful stance. The malleable texture of the body is emphasized by the stiffness of the drapery. Another large piece from Calcutta is a Bajvopani Boddhisatva, irreproachable in detail and craftsmanship, but as uninspired as it is uninspiring.

There is a large sprinkling of smaller exhibits of consummate merit. A famous piece from the Calcutta Museum (Pl. XII, *b*) is a female figure from a railing, a figure with lithe waist and opulent hips. Standing *en hanchement*, it is marked by great stability and by the clever employment of anklets to effect transition through slim ankles to the animal pedestal. The body is exuberant with the joy of health and youth, and in the face there are humour and merriment, as also in the faces and bearing of the two small figures in the upper panel. From Calcutta Museum comes the lower fragmentary half of a female figure, a great masterpiece, whose rose-red stone is as alive as bronze. The softness of every transition of plane is staggering. In construction this piece is at once architectural and flexible. The legs live and move and express personality. In vivid interpretation of the eternal feminine here is the quintessence of sculpture (Pl. XIII).

No sculptors have ever surpassed the Indian in the carving of animal forms. This Exhibition can boast of three wonderful

fragments. There is a double-headed lion capital from Gwalior, a subject easy for a mason to cut in the mechanical fashion of Achæmenid art. But this three-dimensional chimera is so instinct with force and vitality that there is about it none of the insincerity of mere decoration. In the pose of the crouching body, in the absorbed look of the face, and in the feverish grip of the paws there is expressed the most tense curiosity. The head of a thirteenth century horse from Konarak (Pl. XI, *a*) is another piece carved in the round with a virtuosity rare in all but Indian sculpture. Architectural in conception, the head is too sensitive to be merely architectural. Without being realistic the artist has stressed the difference in texture between the horse's coat and his harness. And the animal wears an almost human air of resignation, which is part of the sculptor's interpretation of his model, and not suppositious like the sentimentality of what Aldous Huxley has termed Landseer's Christ-like dogs. The third animal piece (XIV, *b*) is a horse and rider from Sarnath, which though fragmentary, is eloquent. Contrasted with the lax pose of the rider is the body of his mount, taut and straining, as though he breasted the wind, full of the prancing vigour of the young animal. To convey power and speed the artist has not had to resort to the bulging muscles of bad European sculpture (Pl. XIV, *b*).

The exhibits here eulogized rank with the greatest of the world's art. Naturally not all the works displayed reach this high standard. To take two examples. From Patna comes an insensitive Siva dancing on five heads. The legs are too big for the feet, and the heads are not only irrelevant to the design and inserted for mythological rather than artistic reasons, but they are also examples of concave planes and bad realism. A Bacchanalian group from Muttra shows men supporting an inebriated woman, whose legs are out of proportion. The male figure on the left has a flat misshapen torso, and the right arm is detached from the body.

But whatever defects particular pieces may have, Indian sculpture as a whole is always rhythmic, always vital, and often great.

Indian Influences on Western Culture

By H. G. RAWLINSON, C.I.E., F.R.Hist.S., M.A.

INDIAN influence upon European literature goes back to the earliest times. The learned German scholar, Dr. Gerland,¹ traces to Indian sources a number of the episodes in the *Odyssey*; the story of Circe, for instance, appears also in Somadeva's *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, where a Yakshini, or female demon, changes men into beasts by playing to them on her magic flute. The Sirens are the Indian Rākshasis, and the Cyclops are Rākshasas. India is the home of fables, especially of beast and fairy stories, and these found their way to the West by a variety of channels. Some were carried by traders, others by wandering tribes like the gypsies, whose Indian origin is now generally accepted. Others again reached the West by way of Baghdad and Alexandria. Thus the story of the Judgment of Solomon occurs also in the *Mahoshadha Jātaka*, where it is attributed to the Buddha in one of his previous incarnations; doubtless it found its way from India to Palestine along with the ivory, apes, and peacocks which Hiram, King of Tyre, brought from Ophir to Jerusalem by way of Ezion Geber. If we identify Ophir with Sopara on the west coast of India, near Bombay, this becomes still more probable, for Sopara or Śurpāraka was a well-known port in Buddhist times, and the capital of Aparānta, mentioned by Asoka in his list of Buddhist countries.

Max Müller² points out that the beast stories must have travelled from East to West, and not *vice versa*, because the animals who play the leading parts, the lion, the jackal, the elephant, and the peacock, are Indian. In the European version, the jackal becomes the fox; this gives the clue, for the relation between lion and jackal is a natural one, but that between lion and fox is not. The change in the species of the animals is indeed instructive. Take, for example, the Welsh folk story of Llewellyn and Gelert. Llewellyn leaves his hound Gelert to guard his baby daughter. Coming home, he finds the dog's mouth covered with blood, and kills it. Too late, he discovers the infant unharmed, with a dead wolf by its side. In the

¹ *Alt Griechische Märchen in der Odyssee*. See also *Indian Antiquary*, 1881, p. 291.

² "On the Migration of Fables," in *Chips from a German Workshop*, iv, 412.

Indian original, as lovers of Kipling know, the part of Gelert is taken by the mongoose and that of the wolf by a cobra.

Max Müller gives a charming example of the migration of fables in La Fontaine's story *La Laitière et le Pot au Lait*. Peretta, going to market with her pail on her head, builds castles in the air. She will sell the milk and buy some chickens; the chickens will wax and multiply and she will exchange them for a cow and a calf. The calf gives a kick; so does Peretta, and the milk is spilt. In the original, a foolish Brahmin whose begging-bowl has been filled with boiled rice, has day-dreams about selling the rice and buying a wife. He imagines that he raises his stick to beat his wife, and over goes the rice. La Fontaine says that he made use of the fables of "The Indian Sage Pilpay". Pilpay is Bidya or Vidyapati, the Master of Wisdom. *The Stories of Pilpay* are a collection of Indian fables which found its way into Europe by way of Baghdad, and was translated into almost every European language. A German version made in 1483 is among the earliest printed books. The story of Cinderella originated in the Indian legend of the princess Suvarnadevi, who loses her slipper while bathing. Much the same is true of most of our nursery tales.

It is interesting to find folk stories of undoubted Indian origin in both Chaucer and Shakespeare. Chaucer's *Squire's Tale* is the

Story of Cambuscan bold,
That owned the virtuous ring of glass,
And the wondrous horse of brass,
On which the Tartar King did ride.

The "horse of brass" was originally a horse of ebony (*cheval de fust*), and the legend reached England by way of Baghdad, Spain, and France, like that of Sinbad the Sailor and others in that wonderful collection of tales, the Arabian Nights. Professor A. A. Macdonnell¹ has no doubt that all the main framework of the Arabian Nights is derived from Indian ideas, and a large number of its stories are of Indian origin.

Two apologues in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, the Three Caskets and the Pound of Flesh, are Indian. They were incorporated in the famous romance of Barlaam and Josaphat, which was written in Greek in the fourth century A.C. by John of Damascus, and found its way to Europe, probably through a Manichæan work,

¹ *India's Past*, p. 129.

fragments of which were discovered by Le Coq in Turfan.¹ It is the story of a young Indian prince who, overcome by the sight of human suffering, abandons the world and becomes an ascetic. It had an immense vogue in the Middle Ages, and Josaphat was eventually canonized by the Church. Max Müller² has no difficulty in showing that Josaphat was actually the Bodhisattva; after all, there have been many worse saints! The story of the Pound of Flesh, which is narrated in *Barlaam and Josaphat*, is the Buddhist *Śibi Jātaka*. Two gods lay a wager with one another whether it is possible or not to tempt the pious prince Śibi. To try him, one turns himself into a hawk, and the other into a dove; the hawk pretends to be about to eat the dove, but Śibi offers to redeem the victim with its weight of his own flesh. The scene is charmingly depicted on one of the bas-reliefs on the great stūpa at Borobudur in Java. It is a far cry from Java to Elizabethan England, but the fable in its migrations seems to surmount time and space!

Contact between England and India was established with the foundation of the British factory at Surat, and one of the earliest writers to show a detailed knowledge of India is John Milton. To trace all the Indian references in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* would require a separate paper, and I can only touch on one or two of them here in outline.³ Milton never makes a mistake in accenting Indian proper names: thus he speaks of

Agra and Lahore of Great Mogul.

The Miltons were a family of city merchants, and no doubt they frequently came across members of the East India Company; there is reason to suppose that John Milton was a friend of William Methwold, the scholarly President of the Surat Factory from 1633 to 1639. Milton had obviously read to good purpose Hakluyt and Purchas, and contemporary travel books like the *Embassy* of Sir Thomas Roe. His picture of Satan sitting

High on a throne of royal state, which far
Outshone the wealth of Ormuz or of Ind,
Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand
Showers on her kings barbaric pearl and gold

¹ P. Alfarc, *Journal Asiatique*, September, 1917.

² *Selected Essays*, i, 55. F. Jacobs, *Barlaam and Josaphat* (1896). Text and translation in Loëb Classics.

³ See the article in *The Times Literary Supplement*, 31st March, 1933, and Sir W. Foster's reply.

seems to be inspired by Sir Thomas Roe's narrative of his first audience with the Emperor Jahāngīr, where "high in a gallery, with a canopy over him and a carpet before him, sat in great and barbarous state the Great Mogul". Other Indian vignettes by Milton cling to the memory—his picture of Ceylon (*Paradise Regained*, iv, 73-6),

The utmost Indian isle Taprobane
Dusk faces with bright gleaming turbants wreathed,

or that wonderful description of the banyan tree (*Paradise Lost*, ix, 1100-13).¹

It was only after the discovery of Sanskrit by European scholars at the end of the eighteenth century that India began to exercise a direct influence on European thought.² Warren Hastings originally encouraged the English officials to take up the subject in order to get a clearer idea of the contents of the Hindu lawbooks; but this led to the opening up of a new world. The first translation of the great Hindu philosophical poem, the *Bhagavad Gītā*, was made by Sir Charles Wilkins in 1785, and four years later, Sir William Jones astonished the world with his rendering of Kālidāsa's masterpiece, *Śakuntalā*.

Sadly garbled versions of the Upanishads by the French scholar Anquetil Duperron, which reached Germany in 1802, were hailed by Schopenhauer and Fichte as a new revelation. "That incomparable book," declared Schopenhauer, "stirs the spirit to the depths . . . It has been the solace of my life, and will be the solace of my death." A generation later, Max Müller commented, "If these words of Schopenhauer's required any endorsement, I should willingly give it as the result of my own experience during a long life devoted to the study of many philosophies and many religions." Writing in a similar spirit, Victor Cousin declared that the poetry and philosophy of the East, and particularly of India, contained such profound truths that he was constrained to bend the knee before the genius of the Orient and see in that cradle of the human race the native land of the highest philosophy.

What appealed, even at that early date, to the German mind, was the freedom of Hindu philosophy from what Schopenhauer calls

¹ For the origin of this, see the learned article *s.v.* "Banyan Tree", in Yule and Burnell's *Hobson Jobson*.

² Macdonnell, *India's Past*, chapter ix.

"engrafted Jewish superstitions". In a similar vein, Nietzsche declares that the Laws of Manu are a work spiritual and superior beyond comparison, which even to name in one breath with the Bible would be a sin against the Holy Ghost. Unfortunately, this view of Sanskrit gave rise to the disastrous German myth of a race of Aryan supermen.

In 1802 Alexander Hamilton, an Indian Civil Servant, who was detained on his way home for three years in Paris by the outbreak of war, passed his time by teaching Sanskrit to his fellow-prisoners. Among his pupils was Friedrich von Schlegel, who did for Sanskrit in Germany what Sir William Jones had done in England; in his *Language and Wisdom of the Indians* (1808), he asserted the intellectual affinity of Europe and Asia. His brother August Wilhelm produced a translation of the *Rāmāyana* in 1829-31. The poet Heine, greatly struck by what he called the immense flowering forest of old Indian poetry, declared that he felt completely at home in Valmiki's jungle of song, and the sufferings of the godlike Rāma touched a familiar chord in his heart; many of his finest lyrics are inspired by Indian thought and imagery. Hegel broke into a pæan of praise over the *Bhagavad Gītā*, and Rückert's *Weisheit der Brahmanen* (1836-9) is sometimes regarded as one of the most beautiful poems in the German language. The passage in Schiller's *Maria Stuart*, in which the exiled queen calls upon the clouds to take her greetings to the land of her birth is obviously inspired by a similar passage in Kālidāsa's *Mēghadūta* (Cloud Messenger). Goethe was somewhat repelled by the "bizarre complexity and bewildering anomalies" of Sanskrit, but greeted *Sakuntalā* in a well-known verse:—

Wouldst thou the young year's blossoms and the fruits of its decline,
And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted, fed,
Wouldst thou the Earth and Heaven itself in one sole name combine?
I name thee, O Sakontala! and all at once is said.

The prologue of *Faust*, in which the author, manager, and Merry-Andrew converse, is borrowed from the prologue of the Sanskrit classical drama, in which the *Vidushaka* or Jester is a stock character.

Sanskrit literature, in spite of the advocacy of Max Müller, made a much smaller impression in England than in Germany. There is little doubt, however, that the pantheistic transcendentalism which forms the core of the philosophy of Carlyle, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Shelley, owes a great deal to Hindu influence indirectly imbibed

through the medium of German. In Shelley, the affinities are obvious. *Adonais* is pure Vedanta :—

He is a portion of the loveliness
Which once he made more lovely : he doth bear
His part, while the one Spirit's plastic stress
Sweeps through the dull dense world, compelling there
All new successions to the forms they bear.

And could there be a more perfect exposition of the doctrine of *Māyā* than

The One remains, the many change and pass,
Heaven's light for ever shines, Earth's shadows fly,
Life, like a dome of many-coloured glass,
Stains the bright residence of Eternity,
Until Death tramples it to fragments ?

Professor R. M. Hewett¹ traces Shelley's oriental pantheism to Sir William Jones, whose fine hymns to the Hindu deities once had a great vogue. He shows in particular that Shelley's *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty* is directly inspired by Jones' *Hymn to Narayana*. Here is Jones :—

Spirit of Spirits ! Who, through every part
Of space expanded and of endless time,
Beyond the stretch of labouring thought sublime,
Badst uproar into beauteous order start,
Before Heav'n wast, Thou art ;
Ere spheres beneath us rolled, or spheres above,
Ere earth in firmamental ether hung,
Thou satst alone ; till through thy mystic Love
Things unexistent to existence sprung
And grateful descant sung.

And here is Shelley :—

Spirit of BEAUTY, that dost consecrate
With thine own hues all thou dost shine upon,
Of human thought or form—where art thou gone ?
Why dost thou pass away and leave our state,
This dim vast vale of tears, vacant and desolate ?

* * *

¹ *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, vol. xxviii (1942). For the subject in general, see *India in English Literature*, by Robert Sencourt (1923).

Thy light alone, like mist o'er mountains driven,
 Or music by the night wind sent,
 Through strings of some still instrument,
 Or moonlight on a midnight stream,
 Gives grace and truth to life's unquiet dream.

Indian influence is pronounced in the Transcendental Movement in America and the Celtic Revival in Ireland. Of the former, which started as a protest against New England Puritanism, it has been said that its prophet was Emerson, and its high priestess Margaret Fuller. Emerson knew no Sanskrit, but he had studied the Hindu scriptures in translations. His pantheism finds magnificent expression in his poem *Brahmā* :—

If the red slayer thinks he slays,
 Or if the slain thinks he is slain,
 They know not well the subtle ways
 I keep and pass and turn again.

Far or forgot to me is near,
 Shadow and sunlight are the same.
 The vanished gods to me appear,
 And one to me are shame and fame.

They reckon ill who leave me out,
 With me thy fly, I am the wings ;
 I am the doubter, and the doubt,
 I am the hymn the Brahmin sings.

This is inspired by the well-known passage in the *Kathā Upanishad*, “When the slayer imagines that he kills, and when the slain imagines that he dies, both are under delusion. The spirit of the slayer does not kill : the spirit of the slain does not die.” Hinduism was popularized in Dublin circles by Theosophy, which had a great vogue in the nineties, and particularly affected A. E. Russell and W. B. Yeats. “A.E.” says in one of his letters :—

“Goethe, Wordsworth, Emerson, and Thoreau among moderns have something of this vitality and wisdom, but we can find all they have said and much more in the grand Sacred Books of the East. The Bhagavad Gītā and the Upanishads contain such godlike fulness of wisdom on all things that I feel the authors must have looked with calm remembrance back through a thousand passionate

lives full of feverish strife for and with shadows, ere they could have written with such certainty of things which the soul feels to be sure." ¹

"A.E.'s" poetry is full of lovely Indian imagery. Here is one example :—

Shadow-petalled like the lotus loom the mountains with their snows,
Through the sapphire, Soma rising such a flood of glory throws,
As when first in yellow splendour Brahma from the Lotus rose.

Yeats tells us how he carried Tagore's *Gītāñjalī* about with him for days, reading it in railway trains, on top of omnibuses and in restaurants, and was often compelled to close it lest some stranger should see how much it moved him.

Few things have been more remarkable than the recent change in attitude in the West towards Indian Art. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Indian Art had many western admirers. Professor Sarre has investigated the influence of Mughal painting on the art of Rembrandt, who painted the portrait of Abraham Wilmerdonks, a Director of the East India Company and a great connoisseur of Indian Art. Among Rembrandt's drawings in the British Museum are copies of portraits of Tīmūr, the Emperor Jahāngīr, and an Indian prince on horseback. Warren Hastings and his contemporaries were connoisseurs of Indian Art; Hastings' collection of Mughal paintings was purchased by the East India Company for £760 in 1809. The collections of Indian sculpture made by his friend, General "Hindu" Stuart, were acquired by the British Museum. Sir Joshua Reynolds was another admirer of Indian painting, and expressed his delight when shown, in 1777, the album of Mughal portraits also now in the British Museum.

In the nineteenth century there was a general blindness in England to the significance of Indian Art, and even Sir George Birdwood denied that India had any fine art. Ruskin, lecturing to the South Kensington Museum in 1855, declared that Indian Art "either forms its compositions out of meaningless fragments of colour and flowings of line, or if it represents any living creature, it represents that creature under some distorted or monstrous form. To all facts and forms of nature it wilfully and resolutely opposes itself; it will not draw a man but an eight-armed monster; it will not draw a flower, but only a spiral or zig-zag".

¹ J. Eglington, *A Memoir of A.E.*, p. 20.

People were brought up to judge all sculpture by Greco-Roman standards. The change in heart was due chiefly to two men, Ananda Coomaraswamy and E. B. Havell. Now more and more people are beginning to see in Indian sculpture, as in the sculpture of our Gothic cathedrals, a universal spiritual appeal quite lacking in most of the art of Greece and Rome.

At a lecture given before the Royal Society of Arts in 1938, Sir William Rothenstein drew attention to the supreme versatility of Indian sculptors. Their iconography was the richest and most exuberant ever evolved from the human brain. This teeming, creative fertility is in itself a supreme achievement, and they showed an equally abundant plastic inventiveness. The lecturer spoke of the enthusiasm of Degas and Rodin for Indian sculpture, and its influence on the post-impressionists.

As time goes on, it will be increasingly recognized that a knowledge of the history and culture of India is essential to the foundation of a proper understanding of the origin and growth of Western civilization.

Yaksha and Wife from Bharatpur

By RAWAT PANDIT CHATURBHUJ DAS CHATURVEDI

(PLATE XV)

RECENTLY at the village of Noh in Bharatpur Tensil on the Bharatpur-Chiksana (or Agra) road I discovered the two colossal figures here illustrated. The Yaksha with a lateral top-knot on his head is of the same type and stone as one from Parkham village, now in the Curzon Museum at Muttra. It also has an inscription like that on the feet of the Parkham Yaksha. Its height above the ground is 5 feet and its girth round the upper arms 7 feet.

The Yaksha wears a *dhoti* fastened by a girdle. A second girdle circles the chest, just touching the lowest rings of a necklace, a girdle found in a slightly different form on the corpulent Yaksha figures of this Kushana period (Vogel's Catalogue of the Muttra Museum c. 3).

There are three heavy ear-rings in each ear-lobe and the flat torque is tied at the back of the neck by a band having an interwoven knot. On the right upper arm is an armlet decorated with three outstretched feathers, while on the forearm are four bejewelled bangles of the finest workmanship. The right arm is raised from the elbow towards the shoulder. The left arm is broken off.

The Yakshani has been badly damaged, deprived of arms and feet with only bosom and waist visible. A petticoat (*lanhga*) hangs from the hips.

The Yakshani is now in the Bharatpur Museum, where it is hoped the Yaksha also will soon be preserved.

Anuruddha and the Thaton Tradition.

By H. G. QUARITCH WALES

THE Burmese chronicles are emphatic that it was from the Mon city of Thaton that King Anuruddha in A.D. 1057 obtained the Pāli canon. Yet students of Burmese history have been by no means insensitive to the difficulty of reconciling this with the exclusively Hindu character of the more or less contemporary archaeological remains at Thaton. The late Prince Damrong even went so far as to suggest¹ that P'rā Pathóm, in the neighbouring Buddhist kingdom of Dvāravatī, rather than Thaton in Burma, must have been the city that Anuruddha conquered, and from which he derived his Hīnayāna Buddhism. I now propose shortly to reconsider the archaeological evidence, in the light of recent advances in our understanding of the mechanics of Indian cultural expansion and of a certain passage in one of the Mon chronicles to which attention has not hitherto been directed in this particular connection. I believe that this may help us to resolve the difficulty.

The only objects discovered at Thaton that can be dated as of the ninth to tenth century A.D. are two reliefs of Viṣṇu lying on the serpent Ananta, and a bas-relief of Śiva and Pārvatī.² They belong stylistically to the East Indian school. The complete absence of Buddhist images of the period is impressive, especially when one considers the profusion of Hīnayānist remains that are known from every contemporary site of the kingdom of Dvāravatī to the south-east. Furthermore, though not in itself conclusive, it is a curious thing that the reputedly Buddhist king Manuha of Thaton, when led captive to Pagan, should have thought fit to embellish his palace with reliefs of Brahma, also in the East Indian style.³

Recent archaeological research has tended to show that Indian cultural expansion proceeded in successive waves corresponding to the peak periods of Indian civilization under the Gupta, Pallava,

¹ *JSS.*, vol. xiii, pt. 2, p. 31.

² Nihar-ranjan Ray, *Brahmanical Gods in Burma*, pp. 30-32, figs. 5, 6, and 20. The plaques of the Thaya *paya* considered by Ray and others to be Śaivite are perhaps more probably Jātakas, dating from eleventh to twelfth century A.D. See *ARASI.*, 1930-34, pp. 196-202.

³ Ray, *op. cit.*, fig. 30.

and Pāla dynasties.¹ Generally speaking the effect of each wave has left its mark throughout Greater India, but the Mon kingdoms of Dvāravatī and Haripuñjaya (Lāmphun), in central and northern Siam respectively, resisted the later waves, probably on account of their somewhat remote geographical position. They continued to practise Hīnayāna Buddhism (and some Vaiṣṇavism) with a decadent form of Gupta art. Elsewhere the effects of the Pāla wave, usually Mahāyānist but sometimes Hindu, are particularly noticeable. And nowhere should we expect the impact to have been more strongly felt than in lower Burma. That this was indeed the case seems to be supported by the available archaeological evidence. At Thaton, Hmavza (Old Prome) during its later phase,² and in pre-Anuruddha Pagan,³ Mahāyānism or Hinduism, with East Indian art styles, prevailed.

Thus judged purely on the strength of generalizations of wide application, Burma should have remained during the eleventh to thirteenth centuries A.D. virtually a cultural colony of North-East India. But valuable though the recognition of general principles governing change undoubtedly is, these must always be checked in regard to possible interference by "cultural accident". In this case such an accident has obviously to be expected in connection with, if not entirely due to, the intervention of Anuruddha. The greatest of Asiatic conquerors, Aśoka, Harṣa, and Kublai Khan, have found Buddhism, in whichever form, as a religion setting a premium upon humility, admirably suited to the pacification of subject peoples. The lesser lights of South-East Asia seem to have felt likewise. Certainly the patronage of Anuruddha in the eleventh century, and of Rāma K'āmhēng of Siam two centuries later, were politically effective, and at the same time made possible the triumph of the Ceylon Hīnayānist revival over a great part of the region.

Anuruddha himself, however, could have got little from Ceylon. At that time Buddhism in Ceylon was temporarily at a low ebb, and the Sinhalese king Vijaya Bāhu I was himself some years later (1071) to request scriptures and monks from Anuruddha. The Tantrism flowing so strongly from Bengal could have made no appeal to the great Pagan king; he had seen too much of it among the

¹ Quaritch Wales, "Recent Malayan Excavations and some Wider Implications," *JRAS.*, 1946, pts. 3 and 4.

² Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma*, p. 91.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

decadent Aris of his own capital. He could therefore only turn to the Hinayānist countries across the mountains to the south-east.

This brings us to Prince Damrong's suggestion with regard to P'rā Pathōm. It seems to me unacceptable in view of the fact that this city was by then in decline, Dvāravatī having for half a century been incorporated within the Khmer dominions. Moreover, I think it is improbable that such an astute ruler as Anuruddha, his realm as yet by no means stabilized, would have undertaken such an invasion, or even a raid, at a time when the Khmers were still at the height of their power.

Haripuñjaya was founded in the eighth century A.D. by Mon colonists from the Dvāravatī kingdom.¹ Though excavations which might provide material connecting the eighth century with the twelfth to thirteenth century Buddhist inscriptions of Lāmp'ūn, have not yet been undertaken, there is good reason to suppose that there was no break in Buddhist tradition there: Dupont has shown that the Hinayānist images of Wat Kūkūt, Lāmphun, show close affinity to the Dvāravatī style.²

Fortunately there is no need for us to speculate as to whether it was Haripuñjaya that Anuruddha raided in his quest for the Tripiṭaka, in view of the following interesting passage from the Cāmadevivamsa, a Mon chronicle in the Pāli language. This passage refers to events following a cholera epidemic at Haripuñjaya which M. Coëdès shows³ to have occurred in the middle of the eleventh century A.D. I quote from his translation:

"Pour conserver leur vie, les gens de Haripuñjaya durent abandonner leur ville: ils s'enfuirent jusqu'à une ville nommée Sudhamma [Thaton], où ils s'installèrent et essayèrent de gagner leur vie. A ce moment Haripuñjaya fut désert, dépourvu d'habitants, vide. Le roi de Pukāma [Anuruddha of Pagan], témoin de la détresse de ces gens, au lieu d'avoir pitié d'eux, conçut l'ambition de s'emparer de Sudhammanagara et fit saisir leurs fils et leurs filles. Les habitants de Haripuñjaya ne purent supporter cette calamité: ils s'enfuirent de cette ville et allèrent à Hamsavatinagara [Pegu] où ils essayèrent de gagner leur vie. Le roi de Hamsavati, à la vue des habitants de Haripuñjaya, prit pitié d'eux, leur octroya

¹ Coëdès, "Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuse du Laos occidental," *BEFEO.*, xxv, p. 16.

² "Art de Dvāravatī et Art Khmer," *RAA.*, 1935, p. 72.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 23.

des vêtements, des parures, du paddy, du riz, des aliments salés et acides ; ils les fit loger et protéger. Les habitants de Haripuñjaya et ceux de Hamsavati prirent confiance les uns envers les autres et se lièrent d'une affection réciproque. Et comme leurs parlers étaient identiques, sans présenter la moindre différence, cette confiance naquit très rapidement. Quand la sixième année fut révolue, l'épidémie s'éteignit, et ceux d'entre les habitants de Haripuñjaya qui désiraient retourner dans leur pays, revinrent s'y installer." ¹

The flight of the Lāmphun Mon to Thaton may thus be the ultimate basis of our "cultural accident". The fugitives would almost certainly take with them their most sacred images and their Pāli scriptures. King Manuha (? Makuṭa) of Thaton, who first befriended them, may himself have become half-converted, and hearing of these events King Anuruddha's jealousy may well have been aroused while at the same time he was quick to see his opportunity.

Not only the Tripiṭaka and Mon script, but also the Mon style of *stūpa* could thus have been brought to Pagan indirectly from Haripuñjaya. And this would in no way conflict with the East Indian style of temple architecture and sculpture, dominant still though now harnessed to the Hīnayānist purpose, being introduced by the Thaton craftsmen and later by Indians, imported from Bengal with which direct communication was thenceforward easy.

This interpretation has the advantage of confirming the literal truth of the Burmese chronicles' very insistent claim in regard to Thaton (even though they do not tell the whole story). At the same time it reconciles them with the archaeological evidence.

Tentatively, I think, we may even go a step further. We may advance the hypothesis that the introduction of Hīnayānism into Pegu (founded early ninth century) ² may also date from these events. Community of race and language would be sufficient to account for the good reception accorded to the refugees both at Thaton and Pegu, without postulating community of religion. Excavations at Pegu were undertaken by Professor J. A. Stewart in 1914, ³ and Buddhist images and relics were brought to light.

¹ *BEFEO.*, loc. cit., p. 160.

² C. Duroiselle in *Revealing India's Past*, London, 1939, p. 331.

³ J. A. Stewart, "Excavation and Exploration in Pegu," *JBR.S.*, vol. vii, pt. 1, 1917.

So far as can be made out from the illustrations accompanying Professor Stewart's report, I should be inclined to say that the images shown on plate v, which seem to be in a debased late Mon style, still somewhat reminiscent of the art of Dvāravatī, could date back to the eleventh century. Are there any earlier Buddhist remains at Pegu? Is the Śiva temple, which Professor Stewart also excavated, merely the Court Brahmans' temple of some later Buddhist king, or does it date from the ninth century, and so represent an earlier Hindu phase corresponding to what seems to be the contemporary situation at Thaton? Only fuller and more systematic excavations might supply the answers to these questions.

If Thaton was not a Buddhist city at the time of the exodus from Lāmphun, that does not necessarily mean that it had never been one. We have practically no archæological evidence prior to the ninth century, but there is a local tradition that an earlier site was washed away by an encroachment of the sea.¹ Very likely there existed, under the widespread influence of the Gupta wave, an early Hinayānist settlement at Thaton in the fifth to seventh century, just as there certainly did at Hmawza. Consequently my interpretation of the later evidence has no bearing on the probability that Dvāravatī was originally colonized by Indianized Mon immigrants from lower Burma as well as by Indian voyagers establishing coastal settlements.

¹ Duroiselle, loc. cit. And a bronze image of Dipaṅkara Buddha, in late Gupta style, found at Thaton (*ARASI.*, 1930-34, p. 204, pl. cxii) may be a relic of this early period.

Direct Sailing Between the Persian Gulf and China in Pre-Islamic Times

By G. F. HOURANI

IN the sixth century A.D. Chinese and Persian merchants used to meet regularly in Ceylon for the exchange of their products : this is clear from Cosmas Indicopleustes, xi, 336, and Procopius, *Persian Wars*, i, 20, 9-13. In addition to this the existence of direct sea-commerce between the Sassanid Empire and China has often been asserted as an established fact, e.g. by J. T. Reinaud, *Relations des voyages faits par les Arabes*, etc. (Paris, 1845), p. xxxv ; H. Yule, *Marco Polo* (London, 1903), p. 83 ; L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam* (Milan, 1905-1926), ii, 2, 12 A.H., sect. 133, note 1 ; iii, 16 A.H., sect. 328 ; E. H. Warmington, *The commerce between the Roman Empire and India* (Cambridge, 1928), pp. 138, 358, note 146 ; and others. But this assertion rests on slender evidence and requires discussion. I shall endeavour to set down all the passages which might be adduced and to assess the value of each one.

(i) Baladhuri, *Futuh al-Buldan*, 341, and Tabari, i, v. 2384, apparently following the same tradition, state that Ubullah at the time of the Moslem conquest was a port for ships from China, India, 'Uman, and Bahrayn. This is plain enough ; none the less, if it were unsupported we could not be satisfied with this evidence, because Arab writers are in the habit of grouping together " India and China " as distant countries to which shipping went : and such a general notice would be all the weaker in a reference to a comparatively early period. This statement, moreover, gives no indication whether the ships were Persian or Chinese ; the phrase *sufun min al-Sin* in Tabari might refer to either.

(ii) A Chinese traveller, I-ching, vol. ii, fol. 5a = Eng. transl. J. Takakusu, *A record of the Buddhist religion* (Oxford, 1896), p. xxviii :—

" In the beginning of autumn [A.D. 671] . . . I came to the town of Kwang-tung, where I fixed the date of meeting with the owner of a *Po-sse* ship to embark for the south. . . . At last I embarked from the coast of Kwang-chou [Canton]. . . . "

The ship then carried him to Sumatra.

Po-sse here probably means "Persian".¹ If so, it proves Persian navigation to China less than fifty years after Islam; and in any case it is well established for the early eighth century by Chinese sources. Now it does not seem likely that the Persians first began these enterprising voyages in the years immediately after their defeat by the Arabs; it is far more likely that they date back to the Sassanids.

These passages, (i) and (ii), are all the sound evidence we have, and together they give a probability that Persian vessels from Ubullah were making the voyage to China in pre-Islamic times. The passages which follow are discussed because they have been quoted as evidence; I hope to show that no relevant conclusion can be based on them.

(iii) Mas'udi, *Muruj al-dhahab* I. 216: "The Euphrates formerly emptied into the Indian Ocean there [below Hirah]. For the sea was then over the place known at the present time as Najaf; thither came the boats of China and India (*sufun al-Ṣīn w-al-Hind*) returning to the kings of Hirah."

Too much reliance has been placed by scholars on this passage. If it refers to a period before A.D. 500 it can have little weight, for no Arab author knows much about anything earlier than that. If on the other hand it refers to the sixth century, navigation of sea-going vessels up to Hirah and Najaf is out of the question, because of the Great Swamp of the lower Euphrates which was created by floods in the early part of that century. (When Maqdisi, *Ahsan al-Ta'asim*, 120, says that in the late tenth century boats sailed up the Euphrates to Kufah, he probably refers to river-craft.) In any case the passage of Mas'udi bears a legendary character: the sea never came anywhere near Najaf in historic times. Cf. i, 219, for a similar passage, said to be derived from a conversation of Khalid ibn-al-Walid (c. 630) with an old man of 350 years! Quite different is the passage of Ibn-Rustah (*B.G.A.*, vii, 94) in which he writes that sea-going ships from India used to go up the Tigris to Mada'in: this is sober and circumstantial; even before the floods the Tigris was probably more navigable than the Euphrates, and after them it was not rendered impassable.

¹ The identity of the *Po-sse* is discussed in B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* (Chicago, 1919), and H. Hasan, *A history of Persian navigation* (London, 1928), pp. 97 ff. Apparently the term was used by the Chinese both for a Malayan people and for the Persians. But I follow H. Hasan in assuming that it refers to Persians in the passage quoted.

It may be said that Mas'udi confirms at least that shipping from China came to Mesopotamia. But such a vague confirmation adds nothing to the testimony of Baladhuri and Tabari. The phrase "ships of China and India" gives no indication of the nationality of the ships; even *sufun Siniyyah* in Arabic geographers and historians sometimes means definitely Moslem ships on the China run, "China clippers" (e.g. Buzurg, p. 85, Arab Moslem ships of Siraf; Sulayman the merchant, *Relations des voyages*, pp. 14-15).

(iv) Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv, 3, 3: At Batne, near Zeugma on the upper Euphrates, there was in the fourth century an annual fair in September to which a great crowd came, "to trade in what the Indians and Seres send, and very many other goods brought thither by land and sea."¹ Professor Warmington (loc. cit.) draws from this the conclusion that the Indians and Chinese sailed up the Persian Gulf to attend this fair. This conclusion is unwarranted. Batne was a natural place for a fair because it lay at or near the junction of two important trade-routes: one from the Persian Gulf up through Mesopotamia by barge or camel; the other the caravan-route across Central Asia and Parthia (see Isidore of Charax, *Parthian stations*, 1). The question then is: By which route did the Chinese send their wares? The answer is given by the name "Seres": this always means the Chinese as approached overland, in contrast with the "Sinæ". The passage does not even say that the Seres came, but only that they sent their goods.

(Professor Warmington also refers to Procopius, *Wars*, ii, 12, 31, but this does not mention any fair; it merely describes Batne as "a small stronghold of no importance, one day's journey distant from Edessa".)

(v) *Sung-shu*, 97 (covering A.D. 420-478), certainly proves Chinese shipping as far west as India, but I think we can extract from it no more than this. As the passage is not entirely clear, I quote it in full for the reader to judge:—

"As regards Ta-ts'in [Syria] and T'ien-chu [India], far out on the western ocean, we have to say that, although the envoys of the two Han dynasties have experienced the special difficulties of this route, yet traffic in merchandise has been effected, and goods have been sent out to the foreign tribes, the force of the winds driving them far away

¹ "... magna promiscuæ fortunæ convenit multitudo ad commercanda quæ Indi mittunt et Seres aliaque plurima vehi terra marique consueta."

across the waves of the sea. . . . All the precious things of land and water come from there, as well as the gems made of rhinoceros horns and chrysoptase, serpent pearls, and asbestos cloth . . . ; also the doctrine of the abstraction of mind in devotion to the lord of the world [Buddha]—all this having caused navigation and trade to be extended to those parts.” (Transl. F. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*.)

From all this I conclude that there is nothing to prove direct Chinese sailings to Mesopotamia before Islam. Nor, I believe, do we find them for many centuries after Islam. In case I may be suspected of ignoring Chinese sources on the subject let me support my argument with the authority of F. Hirth and W. Rockhill, *Chau-Ju-Kua* (St. Petersburg, 1911), Introduction, p. 18: they claim that Quilon in South-West India, visited by Cantonese junks in the twelfth century, was the furthest point west ever reached by Chinese ships till the Ming dynasty.

"The Shooting of the Boar" and the Social Divisions of the Sinhalese

By C. E. GODAKUMBURA

A DESCRIPTION of several social grades of the Sinhalese occur in the rite called the *Ūrā Yakkama* (Shooting of the Boar) contained in the *Kohōmbā-kaṅkāriyā*.¹ Its context is as follows: The chief performer enacts the killing of the boar and the sharing of its flesh among the various craftsmen. From the remarks made about each recipient and the treatment which the representative of each trade receives, one sees what value was attached to the work of each from the point of view of the dancer. The function of each in the social order is also mentioned. Below is given the text of this part of the ceremony as it has been gathered from oral tradition from different districts in Ceylon. As may be expected, many variant versions exist, but only a few have been noticed here.

The Sheriff of the village (*gam-muhandirama*).

1. asalā kīve vagatuga siyallak
yodālā ganne borubas āsillak
ravālā kīve apahaṭa dosayak.
kapālā demuva gammahe baraṭa gātayak. (*H*)

"He pretends to be master of everything, and in a moment makes up a false case. With a frown on his brow he accused me of some crime. Therefore, I shall give his wife a thigh of the boar."

Another version: The village headman (*gamarāla*).

2. isaṭa isalanṭa jagalattu toppiyak
karata karalanṭa mutu-ḥāṇḍi mālayak
āṅgaṭa āṅgalanṭa nildāpu sāṭṭayak
kapālā demuva gamarālaṭa gātayak. (*U*)

"He wears on his head the four-cornered cap of office and on his neck the necklace set with pearls. He covers his upper body with a jacket dyed in indigo. We shall give him a thigh (of the boar)."

¹ See the previous issues of this journal, 1946, pts. 1 and 2, pp. 14-22, pts. 3 and 4, pp. 185-191.

The potter (*kumbakārayā*, *baḍahālayā*).

3. (a) vāḍapala kaḷe tānuvē aṁbuvat ekka
hāḍa bala-balā tānuvē dāgena okka
maṇḍa-guli genat peralā iṇḍagena vakka
baḍahāla-malē aragena palayan bokka. (H)

"He brought mud and seated cross-legged in his shed beat the pot into shape with the help of his wife; but the pot dissolved immediately water was poured into it. You can, brother, take away the bowels."

3. (b) vāḍakaḷa kaḷē pān genayanavā dākka
maḍaṭika kaḷē diyavuni ē pān ekka
jaḍa-kunū kaḷē tānuvē aṁbuvat ekka. (U)

"I saw someone carrying water in the decorated pot, and the pot dissolved with the water. He made this useless pot with the help of his wife. . . ."

The carpenter who made the bow.

4. vata-gota no-dāna gannē mama li-daṇḍa
ata-paya riduvāna tānuvē dunu-daṇḍa
vata-gota nodāna mokuvaṭ āve gaṇḍa
atakoluvata demi kakulē tani daṇḍa.

"Being ignorant of everything I had to make my own bow with a piece of wood. Now he comes to ask for something. Take away this bare bone of the leg to use as a hammer."

The blacksmith (*gurunnānse*, *galladdā*).

5. (a) gurē me nuṁba mama kē vaga asāpan
borē āra yakaḍa tavalā talāpan
varē sama tadin ādalā talāpan
kurē kapālā dennaṭa kiyāpan. (H)

"Sir, listen to what I tell you. Heat the iron ore, pull the bellows properly and remove the dross from it. Ask him to cut off the hooves and give them to you."

5. (b) gurē me nuṁba ābava maṭa kiyālan
borē āra yakaṭa tālmen talāpan
karē nokara melakaṭa paṇa-povāpan
urē kapālā dennaṭa kiyāpan.

"Sir, please announce your visit. Remove the dross from the iron ore and prepare the steel. Ask him to give you a portion of the thieh."

The treacle-seller (*vahumpurayā, pāṇikārayā*).

6. (a) kandē gosin aragena vāl-valallak
bāndē gasamulaṭa unālī-kābāllak
gannē telidiyen unupāni riyallak
mannē miṭaṭa demi kakulen kāllak. (H)
(b) (kandē gosin ādagera vāl-valallak
bāndē mulaṭa unāliyaṭa kābāllak
ayuru no-dāna mānnē diyagoḍāllak
mannā miṭaṭa demi tani āṭa-kābāllak.) (U)

"He went to the hills, found some creepers and with them tied a bamboo (to the palm-tree in order to climb it). He measured out hot water instead of treacle. He should be given only a bone from the leg to be used as the handle for his knife."

The lime-burner (*hunu-panikkayā*).

7. piṭa-paṭa gasā hunugal laṅgaṭa yannī
saṭa-paṭa gagā hunugal iṇḍa talannā
viṭa-viṭa perannaṭa baḍavāsma dennā
viṭakata hunu nuduni piṭavakuṭu hunnā.

"He wears his cloth firm and crushes the lime-stones. Using his own loin-cloth he strains the lime. This hunched-backed fellow did not give me a bit of lime to suffice for one chew of betel. (Therefore I shall not give him anything.)"

Barber (*āmbāṭṭayā, panikkalē*).

8. māṇik bāṇḍapu kanmittan kanapiṭaṭa
mokak namut denavada maṭa genayaṇṭa
anik deyak nāta dān nuṁbaṭa dennāṭa
panikkaḷeṭa demi piḍimāsmen eviṭa.

"He comes wearing the gem-set ornaments on the wrong side, and asks me for something. Alas! I have nothing for him. Well, I shall give him the rump."

The laundryman (*hēṇayā, vīrayā*).

9. temālā pili hāliyē obanakoṭa
ravālā pānapi loku-inikuṇā geṭa
aṇḍālā pānapu kollō dorapilaṭa
kapālā demuva koṭaṁbē henāyaṭa. (H) (U—vīrayaṭa).

"When the washerman soaked the cloth and put it into the pot to boil, the lice ran out in their crowds. We shall give him the testicles."

Weaver (*redi-viyanā*).

10. peḷa-peḷa ādana savikara nūl tadakoṭa
baḷa-baḷa gāṭa vāṭena tān ātuvada soṇḍaṭa
vāḍa-kāḷa redda aḍumāvaka nāta memaṭa
ila-āṭayak aragena demu kaṭiḷeṭa.

"Although the threads were badly knotted he just drew them and fixed them in rows. Yet the cloth which he wove suits me well. So I shall give him a rib to use as his shuttle."

The performer of the *bali*-ceremony.

11. (a) māli nova avut bali māssak bāṇḍa soṇḍaṭa
kali muli gagā māṭi māssaṭa dā soṇḍaṭa
baliya tanā vāḍanimakara bālūviṭa
teli-kūraṭa gena demi ūrage naṅguṭa. (H)
11. (b) payyaṭa teli-kūru divihis gena soṇḍaṭa
kollāṭa aṇḍagasā yamu kiv hanikayaṭa
allāṭa pāṭagena aṇḍinā tit ruvaṭa
tellaṭa gaṇṭa demu ūrāgē naṅguṭa. (U)

"He came eagerly, built his structure, and made the image beautifully. We shall give him the tail of the boar so that he may use it as a painting brush."

"Taking a painting brush and a tiger's head he came with his son, and marked the spots on the image beautifully. We shall give him the boar's tail to be used as his painting brush."

Drum-beater (*bera-kārayā*).

12. (a) berē karalāna āsāṭi ahapanna
varē sampatīn tadakara bāṇḍaganna
urē biṇḍena turu atapolu bāpanna
berē veni varaṭa baḍavāla āraganna. (U)
- (b) ālavaḍana mage hoṇḍa berakārayaṭa
kōlanovī sabayē bera gahanavaṭa
māle karalāna āvidin siṭinavaṭa
pole kapālā demi berakārayaṭa. (H)

"This is how he came. He tightened the skins of the drum and went on beating it until his shoulders ached. Let him take the intestines to be used as the straps of the drum."

(The performer fearing that the drum-beater would not assist him in the future, says again):—

"My friend wears a beautiful necklace, and beats the drum in the assembly without any hesitation. Therefore I shall give him the liver."

The dancer (*Yak-dessā*).

13. (a) ruvāti mihiri horatal bas tepalālu
lova hāmadenage duk duralana bētaklu
pavakaṭa nopāminī nivanāṭa paminēlu
hāma uvaduru hāra gāṭayak miṇḍuvālu. (U)
(b) siv sāṭa silpa nimakerumaṭa magē hitē
hāṭa-hatarak ābaranin sārasi gatē
siyalu yak-dōsa harinaṭa magē hitē
kāvutu peṇahalut bāṇḍa arimu kavuruvat atē.

"He speaks sweet affectionate words, and is a talisman to remove all evils of the world. He shall not fall into sin, but safely attain to Nirvāṇa. He loosed all the knots of the enemy, and set everyone free.

"I want to master the sixty-four sciences. My body is adorned with the sixty-four ornaments. I shall remove all the evils of the devils. Send me the liver and the lungs."

(U) Manuscript from Uḍunuvara.

(H) Manuscript from Hatarakōrale.

Notes on the Text

1. *vaga-tuga*: news, affairs. An echo-compound. *gam-mahe*: shortened form of *gam-mahage* a term of honour applied for the village chief's wife.

2. *jagalattu-toppiya*: the four-cornered cap worn by a village chief.

3. *baḍahāla-malē*, °malē voc. of *malli* younger brother. Relationship terms are often used in addressing members of other castes.

4. *vata-gota* character and family (Skt. *vr̥ta* + *gotra*); *riduvāna* note the gerund in °āna.

5. *gurē* teacher: more respectable form *gurunnānsē* is often used in addressing a man of the blacksmith caste, perhaps to mean master-craftsman.

6. *vahumpuraya*, etymology unknown, name of a caste.

7. *saṭa-paṭa* an onomatopœic.

8. *kanmittan* meaning is not clear, perhaps ear-rings.

9. *hēnayā* is the usual term for the washerman, perhaps *vīrayā* is a term used for a washerman working for a particular community.

Buddhism in Ceylon

By SIR JOSIAH CROSBY

(Concluded from p. 52, Parts 1 and 2, 1947).

III. THE BUDDHIST SECTS

The three Buddhist sects, peculiar to Ceylon, are agreed upon all fundamental points of doctrine. The differences between them are confined to points of practice and of outward observance.

(a) *The Siam Sect*

As has been seen the Siam Sect was founded after the arrival at Kandy in A.D. 1753 of a delegation of monks sent from Siam at the request of King Kīrti Śrī to renew the validity of monastic orders, which had come to lapse in Ceylon in the course of frequent wars and internal disturbances.¹ The following quotation is taken from Donald Obeyesekere's *Outline of Ceylon History* (Colombo, 1911) :—

“ In 1750 the Emperor (i.e. King Kīrti Śrī), with the assistance of the Dutch, dispatched an embassy with presents and a letter to King Dammika of Siam, requesting the latter to send some learned priests for the purpose of advancing Buddhism in Lankā (Ceylon). Accordingly there arrived in Lankā a learned high priest, named Upali, with over ten other priests, bringing with them books of *Dharma* and the *Vinaya*, such as were not to be found in Ceylon. They were received with great ceremony and honour by the Emperor, and ere long the rite of ordination was conferred, amid great rejoicing, on the principal *sāmaneras* (novices) of Ceylon. The Siamese priests were given the Malwatta Vihāra to reside in. Another chapter of priests, together with the high priests Mahā Visuddhācariya and Varananamuni, were sent over to Ceylon during this reign by the King of Siam, and hundreds of Sinhalese underwent the *upasampadā* ordination.”

The following account of the founding of the Siam Sect was told to me by a prominent monk of that Order. In the reign of King Kīrti Śrī Buddhism in Ceylon had fallen sadly into decay ; the traditions of the faith were becoming lost and there were no longer any properly ordained *bhikkhus* (monks). The successors of the former *bhikkhus* were known then by the name of *ganninānsē*,

¹ This event occurred in the last days of Ayuthia as the capital of Siam. That city was destroyed by the Burmese in 1767, a new capital being established a little later at Bangkok under a fresh dynasty, which has continued up to the present time.

but they were not properly ordained, though they were the successors of the orthodox monks of the Mahā Vihāra school.¹ One of the *gammīnānsēs*, known afterwards as Welivita Saranankara Sangharāja, was so filled with religious zeal that he set about a revival of Buddhism. (He lived in the Malwatte monastery at Kandy.) He travelled over the island, consulting such persons as best remembered the traditions and tenets of the faith, and he persuaded the king to send a deputation to Siam, begging the monarch of that country to send Siamese *bhikkhus* to Ceylon for the ordaining as monks of a number of Sinhalese. The King of Siam thereupon dispatched to Kandy a band of twenty monks, including the Head Bhikkhu of Siam, named Upali, who was a member of the Royal Family. The Sinhalese *bhikkhus* so ordained were the founders of the Siam Sect, and the King of Kandy appointed Welivita Saranankara to be "Sangharāja", i.e. Chief Bhikkhu, of the country. (After the latter's death, however, this title was not conferred again.) It was the King of Kandy who decreed that admission to the Siam Sect should be confined to the *goigama* caste.

My informant added that the affairs of the Siam Sect are managed between them by the chapters of two monasteries at Kandy, namely the Malwatte and the Asgiriya monasteries, each chapter consisting of twenty monks and having at its head a *mahānāyaka* assisted by *anūnāyakas*. The two *mahānāyakas* are of equal rank, but the head of the Malwatte chapter takes precedence over the other. These *mahānāyakas* were formerly appointed by the king, but nowadays they are chosen by the chapter concerned.

The Siam Sect is easily the most numerous of the three. The ancient religious foundations, with their often rich endowments, are mostly in its hands. This, combined with its caste exclusiveness,

¹ J. Davy, in his book *An Account of the Interior of Ceylon* (London, 1821) writes :—

"Priests (i.e. Buddhist monks) in general are of two kinds : those of the superior order are called Upasampada and are honoured with the title of Tirunansē ; those of the inferior are called Samanero and have the title of Ganinansē."

Since a *sāmanera* is a novice in minor orders, Davy's statement, though agreeing with the quotation from Obeyesekere appearing above, scarcely tallies with that of my informant of the Siam Sect, who is supported, moreover, by another authority in the person of a leading monk of the Amarapura Sect. The latter told me as follows : "With the decline of Buddhism in Ceylon there came into being a number of wearers of the yellow robe who were attached to the monasteries but who were not ordained (not even as *sāmaneras*). There are none such to-day."

tends to make it vulnerable to criticism. The reproach is sometimes levelled against its members that wealth makes them worldly; Buddhists of the more progressive type will go so far as to advocate not only the abolition of caste distinctions, but the disendowment of monasteries, so that, as when Buddha was alive, monks would depend for their subsistence entirely upon the charity of the faithful.

A member of the Siam Sect walks abroad with his right shoulder uncovered by the yellow robe, whereas members of the other two sects cover both shoulders when outside the monastery. (Inside a monastery it is the practice of all three sects that the right shoulder should be bared.) Members of the Siam Sect are further to be distinguished from those of the others by shaving the eyebrows in addition to the head.

Not only does the Siam Sect enjoy the benefit of the temporalities attaching to so many of the older monasteries, but it is also in charge of the Temple of the Tooth Relic at Kandy, where the daily services are performed by monks of the Malwatte and Asgiriya chapters in rotation.¹

The Siam Sect likewise exercises ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the ancient and highly venerated ruins at Anurādhapura and Polonnaruwa, the Malwatte chapter over the former and the Asgiriya chapter over the latter.

(b) *The Amarapura Sect*

In his *Outline of Ceylon History* Donald Obeyesekere accounts for the foundation of the Amarapura Sect in the following manner :—

“It was not till the year 1802 that a priest of lower caste than goigama was permitted to enter the higher order known as Upasampada. . . . In that year some adventurers led by Ambagahapitiya Gnana Wimala Tissa Samanera, incensed at the refusal to admit Miripenna Dharmaratne—the greatest poet of the period—to the Upasampada order, went to Amarapura, in Burma, and there obtained the Upasampada ordination. The Amarapura Sect that exists in Ceylon at the present day owes its origin to them.”

Amarapura was at that time the capital of Burma.

From a learned monk of the Amarapura persuasion I have myself obtained the following account of the origin and organization of the sect. The founder is known as Ambagahapitiya Nāna Wimalā,

¹ Keys to open the caskets containing the Relic are in the possession of each of the two *mahānāyakas*, and also of the lay administrator of the temple (the Diyavardana Nilamē), the presence of all three being necessary before the caskets can be unlocked.

and came from the village of Ambagahapitiya, near Balapitiya, in the low country between Colombo and Galle. This person had been a member of the Siam Sect, but was dissatisfied with its lax discipline, and in company with five companions, also of the Siam Sect, repaired in 1801 to Amarapura, where they were re-ordained as *bhikkhus*. In that same year the party returned to Ceylon and established a new sect. Although a man of any caste may in theory join this sect, my informant admitted that there was ground for a statement made to me in other quarters that numerous subdivisions had in the course of time come to be created within the Amarapura fraternity along caste lines; he insisted, however, that all members of the sect regard themselves as belonging to one family.

My informant went on to say that in the up-country region there is greater uniformity of organization than in the low country, and that in the former at least no caste distinction exists. Up-country the sect covers two districts, namely the Uva Dissawa, including Nuwara Eliya, and the Madhyama Dissawa, including Kandy. There are separate organizations for each district, but both of them acknowledge the authority of a single *mahānāyaka*, elected for life, who need not belong to any particular monastery and continues to reside after election at the temple to which he happens to be attached. The holder of this office at present (in 1946) lives at Nuwara Eliya. Each of the two district organizations has a *sabhā*, or council, of its own, consisting of twenty-one senior monks elected for life by all the *bhikkhus* of the district, when death creates a vacancy. At the head of each district *sabhā* is a *nāyaka*. (In the case of the district furnishing the *mahānāyaka* for the time being, it is he who is the head of the council.) A *nāyaka* is elected by the members of his council, his name being submitted to the *mahānāyaka* for approval. There is no combined council for the two up-country districts, but in the event of emergency or crisis, the two councils meet together under the presidency of the *mahānāyaka*, who is himself elected in the first instance by both councils jointly assembled for the purpose. In the low country each sub-division has its *nāyaka*, who resides at the particular monastery to which he belongs.

Yet another prominent monk of the Amarapura Sect whom I questioned, while acknowledging that there are numerous subdivisions of the fraternity, defended their existence as a sign of healthy life, but he was reluctant to concede that they followed caste lines; he assured me that the sect had gone to the length of

receiving *rodṛiyas*, who are outcasts, into the upasampadā order, and that one of these was in charge of an institution belonging to the fraternity known as the "Island Hermitage" and situated near Mātara. (My first informant had told me, however, that outcasts were not eligible for admission into the sect up-country, on the ground that ordinary lay worshippers would object to being brought into contact with them.)

Alongside the above statements may be set a third made to me by a monk not belonging to the Amarapura fraternity, who said that that sect was broken up into thirty-eight sub-divisions and confirmed my first informant that these sub-divisions followed caste lines—in the low country, at any rate. This authority (my third informant) stated that he had heard of one sub-division, for example, based on the caste of jaggery (palm-sugar) workers. As for the absence of caste distinctions among the Amarapura Sect up-country, he explained this by the fact that all the monks in the two districts concerned happen to be of the *goigama* caste. This same authority acknowledged that many of the *bhikkhus* of the Amarapura Sect are men of much piety and learning, and he paid a special tribute to the Vajirārāma monastery at Bambalapitiya, Colombo, which belongs to the sect and is one of the most highly respected in the country. He also said that he knew himself of one outcast who had been received by the sect into full monastic orders.

Though the sect comprises no more than approximately 3,000 members, it has the reputation of being progressive and especially active in the propagation of Buddhism. Over fifty years ago Bishop Copleston wrote of it: "The Amarapura is at present the most prominent in controversy and in street-preaching and in all that is most aggressive. It is among them that the theosophists have found their chief allies."¹

I have visited the Vajirārāma monastery at Colombo, and was not a little impressed by the quiet atmosphere of study and contemplation. Some highly intelligent monks are attached to this foundation and I enjoyed my conversations with them, in which I discerned no signs of aggressiveness, though a similar moderation is not characteristic of all of the present-day propagandists of Buddhism in Ceylon. The Vajirārāma monastery is responsible

¹ *Buddhism Primitive and Present in Magadha and Ceylon*, by Reginald Copleston, D.D. (London, 1892).

for the publication of a number of tracts in English upon the subject of Buddhism, as well as of a quarterly religious magazine (also in English) entitled *The Bosat*. The head of this establishment, who is designated *mahānāyaka*, is a venerated teacher, whose sermons not infrequently figure in the programmes issued from the broadcasting station at Colombo.

The Amarapura Sect, like the Siam Sect, allows the erection upon monastery premises of *devālas* dedicated to Hindu gods. In this respect it is less uncompromising than the Rāmañña Sect.

(c) *The Rāmañña Sect*

The following information respecting the Rāmañña Sect was obtained from two *bhikkhus* of that fraternity, and was taken by them from a booklet in Sinhalese compiled for the benefit of members of the sect under the title *Rāmañña Nikāya Kathikawa*.

The founder of the sect was named Indāsabhavarañanasami and came from the low country village of Ambagahawatte, near Kalutara, to the south of Colombo. He is generally known as the Ambagahawatte Thera¹ and would appear to have belonged successively to both the Siam and the Amarapura fraternities. Dissatisfied with the lax discipline prevailing in those two sects and doubting the continued validity of their orders, he went to Burma in 1860 to be re-ordained there. He was accompanied by five other persons, two of whom had previously been ordained in Ceylon as *upasampadā* monks whilst the other three were *sāmaneras*. The party proceeded from Galle to Hansawati (Pegu), and journeyed thence by river in a boat supplied by the King (or the Government) to Amarapura. From there they went to "the Kingdom called Ratannapunna", where they were presented to the Burmese *sangharāja* and spent four months in his monastery. They made inquiry from that dignitary on the question of the validity of ordinations and were ultimately re-ordained by a chapter of ten monks which he headed. The party then returned to Ceylon, having broken with both the Siam and the Amarapura Sects, and arranged for the ordaining of further *bhikkhus* themselves. In this way the Rāmañña Sect came into being, apparently in the year 1862.

This narrative is perplexing in view of the name assumed by the fraternity, for "Rāmañña", as has been stated before, is a designation of the territory of Pegu, in Lower Burma, which was already in

¹ It is to him, presumably, that Bishop Copleston refers as "Ambagahawatte Unnāse of a vihāre at Payyagala, near Kalutara".

British possession in 1860. From the narrative it seems that the party did no more than pass through the city of Pegu (Hansavati) and go on to Upper Burma, which was then still independent, but of which the capital had by that time been transferred from Amarapura to Mandalay. Since the members of the party would appear to have been under the patronage of the King of Burma, and in view of their ordination by the *sangharāja*, or Head of the Buddhist clergy (in Burmese *thathanabaing*), it seems reasonable to conclude that the ordination ceremony took place, not in Pegu, but at Mandalay, the new capital of Upper Burma. This conclusion was confirmed by a Burmese monk residing at Kandy who told us that Mandalay had Ratannapurna for one of its names. I can only presume that the designation "Rāmañña" has been adopted by the sect either under a misapprehension, or because the term has been used loosely and inaccurately to denote the whole of Burma and not specifically Pegu.

My two informants supplied me also with the following account of the organization of the sect to-day. At the head of the fraternity is a *mahānāyaka* who resides at his own temple, wherever it may happen to be. He is chosen by the general chapter of the sect, and is usually, though not necessarily, the oldest of the senior monks. The chapter, or *Mahā Sabhā*, just mentioned, is composed of eighty *bhikkhus* and consists of four elected members from each of twenty districts into which the country is divided for this purpose. The *mahānāyaka* is president *ex officio* of the chapter, which has no fixed place of meeting, but may assemble anywhere. It has a *bhikkhu* as secretary who is called the *mahā lekhaka* and who is elected by it. The *mahānāyaka* is chosen for life, but the other members of the chapter and its secretary are elected for periods of five years, the voters being the *bhikkhus* of the sect. Within the chapter is a working committee of twenty members called the *Kāraka Sabhā*, consisting of one member from each district; it is elected by the chapter and each member of the working committee must himself be a member of the chapter. Each of the four monks representing a district on the chapter exercises a special function of his own in one of the following capacities:—

- (i) Member of the working committee.
- (ii) Ecclesiastical judge for his district.
- (iii) Registrar for his district.
- (iv) Administrative Officer for his district.

There is a supreme ecclesiastical court composed of five judges chosen from among the twenty district judges, and one of them is appointed to be chief judge by the working committee.

As will be seen, the organization of the Rāmañña Sect is more compact and unified than that of the Amarapura fraternity.

Bishop Copleston writes of the sect :—

“ This small but influential branch of the community was confessedly founded as a purer and stricter branch. They aim at a more genuine poverty, possess no lands, use no smart robes or silk umbrellas, but carry only the native palm-leaf umbrella ; they avoid all association with Hindu rites and temples (*dewala*) of Siva, Vishnu, etc., and denounce the worship of all those lower deities which occupy in practice the field of popular Buddhism.”

The above eulogy is not unmerited by the sect to-day. One of its *bhikkhus* has confirmed to me that the erection of *devālas* within the precincts of its monasteries is forbidden, as indeed, is the cult of any Hindu gods or of any personage except the Buddha. He has assured me further that the sect knows no caste distinctions at all.

The Rāmañña Sect is the smallest of the three and has, I am told, no more than about 2,000 members. Like those of the Amarapura Sect, they cover both shoulders with the yellow robe when outside their monasteries. As Bishop Copleston observes, instead of the modern cloth or silk umbrella now in use with both the Siam and the Amarapura Sects, monks of the Rāmañña fraternity follow the old-time custom of keeping off the sun with one of the broad leaves of the *talipot* palm (fitted, however, with a modern steel spring so as to allow of being opened and shut readily).

IV. THE LATEST BUDDHIST REVIVAL

The vitality of Buddhism in Ceylon to-day is, doubtless, due in large measure to the periodical religious revivals after wars and disturbances had threatened the Church with decay, and also to the recourse had to help from foreign countries for renewing the validity of monastic orders. Later, the creation of the Amarapura and Rāmañña Sects may be held to have marked similar religious revivals, while the latest revival of all began, roughly, with the present century and is still pursuing its course.

As far as can be judged, the chief participants in this present-day movement are Buddhists educated on Western lines, who seek to demonstrate that theirs is a rational faith which finds striking support from the latest developments of scientific knowledge.

Prompted by this conviction, they aim at bringing Buddhism to the better knowledge of occidental students and spreading the faith throughout the world. There is, in fact, a predominant element of propaganda in this latest revival, and those who sponsor it can hardly fail to have been spurred to emulation by the example of Christian missionaries who have for so many centuries been active in the island. Some enthusiasts do not shrink from attacks upon Christianity which are scarcely in accord with the tolerant attitude of the Buddha towards other creeds. As was to be expected, it is chiefly the Amarapura and Rāmañña Sects which are active in this modern movement, the Siam Sect being more conservative and displaying less initiative. I have heard of no quite analogous movement in Burma or Siam.

The chief originator of this latest revival seems to have been a Sinhalese who was born at Colombo in 1864 and died at Sarnath in 1933. For most of his life he devoted himself to religion without taking monastic vows, and during that time was known as the Anagārika¹ Dharmapāla; but he entered the monastic order at Sarnath two years before his death, after which he went under the name of the Venerable Devamitta Dhammapāla. He founded the Maha-Bodhi Society, which now has its headquarters at Calcutta, where he made possible the erection of a Buddhist place of worship in connection with it. He was also responsible for the construction of a similar place of worship at Sarnath, and he tried unsuccessfully to procure the transfer from Hindu to Buddhist custodianship of the shrine at Buddha-Gaya, scene of the Master's Enlightenment. Besides being active in Ceylon and in India the Anagārika visited America, where he was able to obtain financial support for his plans for a revival of Buddhism in India. In his early days he was much under the influence of the late Colonel Olcott and of the Theosophical Society, and the monthly journal of the Maha-Bodhi Society, published in English, still contains not infrequently articles by theosophists. The extravagant tone of some of these articles will alienate many readers, but other contributors to the journal make a favourable impression by the more reasonable and less credulous strain in which they write. While the connection with the theosophical movement is even now maintained by some Buddhists

¹ The word "anagārika" means "homeless one" and denotes that the person to whom it is applied has abandoned worldly pursuits for a life devoted to the practice of religion.

in Ceylon, it would, I think, be too much to say that the revival is identified with that movement at the present time.

Although the modern propagandists of Buddhism stress the rational, not to say the agnostic, side of their creed, together with its insistence upon an attitude of loving kindness towards all living creatures, it is not to be imagined that they conceive of their religion as being a non-dogmatic profession of belief such as would be likely to attract the sceptic in religious matters. For all their rationalism, the up-to-date exponents of Buddhism subscribe to time-honoured dogmas which, being incapable of proof, are of necessity to be taken on trust as articles of faith. First and foremost there is the doctrine of rebirth, in which Hindus also believe in a somewhat different form and according to which a man's actions in one lifetime must inevitably lead on to a subsequent existence under some other aspect, unless and until, with the extinction of desire, complete release from the cycle of rebirths, culminating in Nirvana, is attained. And besides this fundamental dogma there are yet others to which even the modern and enlightened Buddhist lends credence. For instance he believes that in this universe and in previous universes successively destroyed and separated from one another by inconceivably vast intervals of time, there were twenty-seven Buddhas who preceded Gotama Buddha¹; he believes further that before the end of the present age or universe yet another Buddha named Maitreya is destined to appear. So also he believes in possible spheres of rebirth apart from the world familiar to us all. Thus there are spheres of hell and there are six heavenly spheres (known collectively as *deva-loka*), inhabited by *deva* or super-human beings resembling the gods and demi-gods of Hinduism, although these semi-divine creatures do not live for ever but, like all created beings, are subject to the law of impermanence and rebirth. And, "far beyond these worlds of sense are the mental spheres of those who lead a life of holiness where the bodily senses will not seek further satisfaction, but all striving is for the attainment of truth."² The instances here cited

¹ Nārada Thero, one of the best known of the monks belonging to the Amarapura Sect, has written among other works a manual of devotion entitled *The Mirror of the Dhamma*. This excellent little book includes a meditation upon "The Lordly Roll of Sacred Names", i.e. upon the twenty-eight Buddhas ending with Gotama Buddha.

² Quotation from *Basic Buddhism*, by Bhikkhu Dhammapāla, of the Rāmañña Sect, published by the All-Ceylon Buddhist Students' Union in 1945.

show that, even according to the conceptions of the modern and more highly educated Buddhists of Ceylon, Buddhism is a faith based largely on dogma and in that respect not different from either Christianity or Islam. In the pamphlet *Buddhism in Burma*, mentioned in a previous section, the writer states :—

“In recent years Mrs. Rhys Davids, following up the principles of the higher and textual criticism which have been brought to bear on the Christian Scriptures, has attempted to get back behind received writings and traditions to the original message of the Buddha. To her mind the Dhamma is not an external code of teaching but more of an inner principle, an inner light and guide approaching the idea of conscience. She claims that originally this was akin to the idea of the Holy Spirit. The handful of Burmese Buddhists who have read her recent books will have nothing to do with this theory.”

It would appear that the same can be said of enlightened Buddhists in Ceylon.

One feature observable among progressive followers of Buddhism in the island is the tendency to establish, or to renew, contacts with Buddhists in other countries. There are a few monasteries in Ceylon where Burmese monks are to be found; allusion has already been made to the attempt of the Anagārika Dharmapāla to revive the faith in India; and, at the Vajirārāma monastery at Colombo I saw one or two novices who had come from Nepal to receive instruction. Furthermore, three *bhikkhus* from the same monastery have just set out for China on a mission of research and of instruction as to the tenets of the *Hīnayāna* school, on the invitation of a Buddhist organization in that country. European followers of Buddhism have been admitted as *bhikkhus* to monasteries in Ceylon.

With respect to the caste distinction still preserved by the Siam Sect, a thoroughgoing reform of Buddhism would lead to the abolition of such exclusiveness. But there is a practical obstacle in the way of sweeping reform. For not only does the Siam Sect confine admission to its ranks to members of the *goigama* caste, but that caste itself comprises a majority of the Sinhalese population, including both the best families and hundreds of thousands of humble folk of the poorer class. These poor people, no less than the others, are still imbued with the caste tradition and would be opposed to any attempt at breaking away from it on the part of their religious preceptors. The abolition of the caste distinction by the Siam Sect (and to a lesser degree by the Amarapura Sect also)

will scarcely be practicable until the general body of opinion among the members of the *goigama* caste has become ripe for the change.

Another feature of the latest religious revival lies in the formation of many Buddhist lay societies, including a Young Men's Buddhist Association.

Nationalist feeling among the Sinhalese is intense nowadays, and by some, but not all, enthusiasts it is considered the duty of a patriot to be a Buddhist and profess what is considered to be the national faith.

V. MONKS AND POLITICS

There is an acute controversy as to whether Buddhist monks should participate in politics or not. Especial importance attaches to this question because members of the State Council are elected by universal suffrage and certain constitutional changes are being made in the direction of establishing a fully autonomous system of government in Ceylon. Public sentiment has been not a little excited over the issue thus raised, and it seems clear that generally senior monks and laity are opposed to clerical interference in politics as injurious alike to Church and State. Nevertheless, some of the younger monks are asserting vigorously the right and the duty of the clergy to share in the political life of the country to the extent even of becoming candidates for election to the State Council and other popular bodies.

Among the ecclesiastical authorities opposing political activity by monks is the chapter of the important Malwatte monastery of the Siam Sect at Kandy, which recently passed the following resolution :—

“ It is well known that a section of the Sangha, moved by a spirit of change, either in ignorance or disregard of their legitimate functions, are preparing to participate in political activities which fall within the province of the laity, and it is manifest that the laity disapprove of such activities, as a result of which the Sangha appears to be falling into disrepute.

“ In these circumstances we declare that the traditional status of the Sangha should suffer no change and that both the Dhamma and the Vinaya cannot and should not be altered to suit the times but should remain immaculate and untarnished.

“ We further decree that bhikkhus should take no part in activities which will lead them to membership in village committees, urban and municipal councils, and the State Council. Those who violate this injunction will be expelled from the Order.”¹

¹ *Ceylon Daily News*, 7th March, 1946.

This uncompromising pronouncement followed after a declaration in a contrary sense by the staff of the Vidiyalankara Pirivena (i.e. College) at Kelaniya, which is a teaching establishment of the Siam Sect, to the effect that it is "fitting for *bhikkhus* to identify themselves with activities conducive to the welfare of the people, whether those activities be labelled politics or not, as long as they do not constitute an impediment to the religious life of a *bhikkhu*".¹ This statement was, it is true, somewhat discounted by another one made before the Malwatte chapter a little later by the principal of the College, who, while maintaining that his staff included persons quite competent to act as State Councillors, announced that it was not the intention of any one of them to seek entry to the Council, as they were all convinced that there were "other ways in which to work for upliftment".²

An unqualified condemnation of participation by monks in politics was recorded in a series of resolutions passed unanimously at a conference of representative members of the Buddhist clergy and laity held at Kelaniya at the end of March, 1946, which had been called by the All-Ceylon Congress of Buddhist Associations. It is claimed for this meeting that it was historic, as for the first time all three sects combined for the occasion to reach decisions affecting the whole *Sangha*. The Deputy Head (*Anūnāyaka*) of the Malwatte chapter presided and the resolutions adopted were in the following form :—

"In no circumstances should a *bhikkhu* seek election to or be a member of the State Council, Parliament, Senate, any Municipal Council, Urban Council, Village Committee, or any other like institution, or any political organization."

"No *bhikkhu* should seek registration as a voter or exercise the rights of a voter in respect of any of the institutions mentioned in Resolution I."

"In no circumstances should a *bhikkhu* associate himself with any election in respect of any of the institutions mentioned in Resolution I."

"In no circumstances should Buddhist laymen induce *bhikkhus* to take part in any matter which is contrary to the above resolutions."

"Where a *bhikkhu* has been expelled from the *Sangha Sabha* (Chapter) of his *Nikaya* (Sect) for acting in contravention of the above resolutions, no Buddhist laymen should pay to such *bhikkhu* the honour and respect due to a member of the *Sangha*."³

¹ *Times of Ceylon*, 18th February, 1946.

² *Ceylon Daily News*, 25th February, 1946.

³ *Ceylon Daily News*, 2nd April, 1946.

Numerous letters from laymen to the press have endorsed the policy enunciated in the above resolutions.

On the other hand in February, 1946, the *Bhikkhu Sammalana*, or Congress of Monks, in which *bhikkhus* of the younger generation predominate, resolved that it was for the ecclesiastical authorities of the various sects alone to decide whether monks should or should not take part in politics and that the laity had no right to adjudicate upon the point. Unfortunately, some of the speakers at this Congress indulged in distinctly abusive language towards their opponents.¹ Upon other occasions also the younger generation of politically minded monks and their friends have not scrupled to vilipend those who differed from them, attacking even the venerable heads of the religious sects, whom one of them branded as "police spies".² Some of these younger monks would appear, furthermore, to have identified themselves with political groups of the extreme left, and more particularly with the communists. They have so antagonized the anti-Communist Ceylon Labour Party that its head has declared he will not have *bhikkhus* participating in any of his own meetings.³ In a leading article of 23rd February, 1946, the *Ceylon Daily News* did not mince matters.

"At a recent meeting of Buddhist priests, who seem to be intoxicated by revolutionary ferments, bitter things were said against Buddhist leaders who counselled priests to keep off politics. It is well known that some persons wearing the yellow robe have been taking a prominent part in meetings of the Sama Samaj and Communist parties. This seems to be a convenient path for the type of priest who has missed his vocation in life and suffers from a deep sense of frustration. But it is a foolish gambit. A wave of resentment against the utterances of the priests referred to is reflected in the Sinhalese press, especially in the communications received from laymen."

The same leading article observed further :—

"There is ground for believing that the subversive political movements are trying to get hold of the younger Buddhist priesthood. The half-educated English-speaking priest is an easy victim of their propaganda."

The temper of the recalcitrant younger monks is revealed in an utterance by one of their leaders, who is reported to have declared as follows at a public gathering :—

"The recent conference at Kelaniya has no power to control them (i.e. the *bhikkhus*) on that question (participation in politics). They

¹ *Ceylon Daily News*, 18th February, 1946.

² *Times of Ceylon*, 23rd March, 1946.

³ *Ceylon Daily News*, 15th April, 1946.

would continue to work for the welfare of the oppressed classes even if they had to face death at the hands of thuggery. There are over 8,000 *bhikkhus* who are convinced that the old order and the older high priests are but the tools of the capitalists.”¹

The acrimonious language thus employed is not very edifying. But, as has been said, the consensus of opinion among both clergy and laity is against such extreme views.

VI. GENERAL

Ecclesiastical Organization

Since kings have ceased to reign at Kandy the official connection between Buddhist Church and State has been severed and there is no central organization to control the three existing sects. But by a modern enactment the Government exercises a measure of control over the temporalities enjoyed by various religious establishments, which are no longer free to dispose of the fruits of their endowments at their good pleasure, but must employ them in ways conducive to the advancement of religion. Such a restriction takes much of the sting out of the criticisms levelled against the wealthy Siamese Sect on account of its alleged worldliness.

Late years have seen the formation of the Congress of Monks or *Bhikkhu Sammelana*. This Congress assembles annually in order to discuss religious matters and members of all the sects are at liberty to join it. A president and a secretary are elected by it every year, as well as a working committee, but it has no official character and its resolutions are in consequence not binding. Although the Congress is dominated by monks of the younger and more impetuous generation, some of the older *bhikkhus* also share in its deliberations.

The need is being felt for devising some method of ensuring the bona fides of all wearers of the yellow robe. As things are, it is easy for an imposter to assume the garb of a monk and, in the absence of any regulation compelling a member of the *Sangha* to be in possession of an official certificate of his membership, even genuine monks are sometimes deceived by dishonest persons who pretend to have entered the Holy Order. The story is told of one imposter who introduced himself to the inmates of a well known monastery at Kandy as being a *bhikkhu* from another district who

¹ The monk Rahula Thero is reported in the *Times of Ceylon* of 12th April, 1946, as having used the above language at a public meeting called by the Ambatalen-pahala Young Workers' United Front.

was on a journey and required shelter for the night. He was hospitably entertained with a bed, but in the morning it was found that he had disappeared together with a clock that had been hanging upon one of the walls !

While the more important monasteries may have attached to them a considerable number of *bhikkhus*, the smaller establishments are usually served by no more than two or three.

Pirivenas

To many of the larger monasteries is attached a high school or college known as a *pirivena*, in which instruction is imparted by the more learned *bhikkhus* on a variety of subjects, both ecclesiastical and secular. The head of a *pirivena* belonging to a flourishing monastery of the Amarapura Sect told me that the subjects taught in his college were Pali, Sanskrit, Sinhalese, grammar based on those three languages, prosody (*chandas sāstra*), rhetoric (*alankāra sāstra*), *ayurveda* (the indigenous system of medicine), and Buddhist doctrine and discipline. This old-fashioned instruction was free and the college was open to laymen (but not to women) as well as to monks. *Pirivenas* are attached to the Malwatte and Asgiriya monasteries at Kandy of the Siam Sect, which has also established the well known Vidiyalankara *Pirivena* at Kelaniya, near Colombo. Of equally high repute is the Vidyodaya Oriental College (likewise connected with the Siam Sect) at Maligakande, Colombo. At the Vajirārāma monastery at Colombo, the most prominent of the monasteries belonging to the Amarapura Sect, I was told that there was no *pirivena*, the monks of that foundation preferring to give instruction to individual members of the Holy Order rather than to classes.

Modern Buddhist Art in Ceylon

There is nothing in modern Ceylon, even in a different style, to compare with the architectural glories of Anurādhapura and Polonnaruwa. Since the erstwhile splendid buildings at those two ancient capitals are now all of them in ruins, this is tantamount to saying that for centuries past ecclesiastical art throughout the island has been in a state of decline, and even to-day there is little or no sign of improvement. A few ancient monuments, such as the Lankātilaka and the Gadalādeniya monasteries (situated in the

neighbourhood of Kandy and dating from the fourteenth century), have preserved something of their pristine beauty, but on most even of the oldest religious sites still in use there are modern buildings in what is at best mediocre taste. At Kandy, the last capital of the Kings of Ceylon, there is no architecture, sculpture, or painting to excite great admiration; the Temple of the Tooth Relic, which is about three hundred years old, is not very impressive, whilst what is left of the Royal Palace offers little that is attractive, except for the gracefully carved wooden pillars in the hall of audience. The cave temples, such as those at Dambulla or at Aluvihāre, have, naturally, suffered less than other sacred places from exposure to the ravages of time, though the frescoes that once adorned them have too often been replaced by the crudest of daubs. Nowhere is to be seen nowadays anything approaching in artistic value the remains of the lovely wall frescoes (sixth century A.D.) at the fortress rock of Sigiriya, which, like those of the Ajanta cave, rank among the chief masterpieces of Oriental painting. Sculpture, too, can scarcely claim any longer to be a living art.

The average Buddhist monastery in Ceylon consists of comparatively recent buildings and are uninteresting when not unsightly. The monastery will be distinguished above all by its *dāgaba* or stupa of a stereotyped pattern in the shape of a bell surmounted by a pointed finial. The *dāgaba* is not particularly beautiful unless constructed upon the colossal and impressive scale of the ruins at Anurādhapura. In the grounds of the monastery is planted a sacred bo-tree (*ficus religiosa*), associated with the Buddha's attainment of Enlightenment. Other features are the *vihāra*, or temple proper, where the image of the Buddha is installed, the *pansala* or living quarters for the monks and in some monasteries a *dhamasāla* or preaching-hall. All of these are usually buildings in the modern style, or in a style too amorphous to have distinctive character. The interior of a *vihāra* may be even less attractive, for its walls are likely to be covered with very inferior frescoes, while in some of the wealthier establishments religious scenes are presented by a display of plaster figures in the round resembling nothing so much as a wax-work show. Lest these strictures should seem too severe I may remark that all those Sinhalese Buddhists with whom I have discussed the point feel the need for an artistic revival.

An unpleasant feature in most modern religious edifices is the

drab and rather dismal tinge of blue in the cement or wash covering the walls, both internally and externally. I am told that in former times such cement or wash would have been white without adulteration, as still in Siam and Burma.

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Ptolemy Bk. VII, Ch. 1, S. 83 : Some Names and Some Comments

By J. A. B. PALMER

(i) *Nayaγούρα-Nayaρourapís*

M. LOUIS RENOUE, in his critical text of Ptolemy Bk. VII (Paris : Champion, 1925), gives the first name in ch. 1, s. 83, as *Nayaγούρα* (Nagagoura), with -γ- (-g-) as the third consonant. This is the reading of the MS. Vatic. 191 (X), which M. Renou and other authorities find superior to its competitors. The majority of the other MSS. utilized by M. Renou give the name as *Nayaρourapís* (Nagarouraris), with -ρ- (-r-) as the third consonant and an added final syllable which looks as if it had crept in from the margin or was some other kind of a corruption : this reading was followed by earlier editions such as that of Nobbe. The choice between -g- and -r- as the third consonant is thus a choice between "the best and the rest", always embarrassing for a critical editor. One is, in such a case, fully entitled to prefer "the best", as M. Renou has done. Moreover, it is only fair to mention two extraneous considerations, which could be argued as supporting -g-. First, there is another case where X reads -g- and the rest read -r-, and X is unquestionably right : this is in ch. 1, s. 50, *Êragassa* X, *Êrarassa* al., modern Eraj, ancient Erakaccha. Secondly, the termination -goura might claim some *a priori* probability if one considers the article by Przyluski in *Bull. Soc. Ling.*, xxvii, p. 218 (not xx as wrongly given in footnote in *JRAS.*, 1929, p. 273) ; but this point has very little weight, for as Przyluski shows and anyone can quickly see, the consonant which precedes the termination -oura in Ptolemy is very variable.

There is, however, another extraneous consideration which tells so strongly in favour of -r- and against -g- that I submit it as conclusive. This is the fact, not hitherto observed, that the reading with -r- offers us an almost certain identification, while the reading with -g- offers no possibility of identification.

If Tagara > Ter (as universally admitted), then Nagaroura > Nerur. This place is quite well known. It is situated in Savant-wadi State, not far from the northern border, close to Kudal.

It is in the right area for s. 83 : it is not far from the coast where the Greek ships cruised : it was a place of importance in ancient times, for it has yielded a number of quite well-known inscriptions of the sixth and seventh centuries (see Fleet, *Canarese Dynasties*, index s.v. Nerur, and further references in text and footnotes).

Curious, indeed, to relate there is yet another place not far off which could also represent Nagaroura. This is Nârur, also in Savantwadi State, but further inland : it lies eastwards of Kudal and looks on the map as if it commanded a ghat. It will be found on the map of Savantwadi State in *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. x, and it appears to have been once the chief place of a district (ibid., p. 439, footnote) : beyond this, I cannot discover anything about its history.

I fear that there is no means at present of deciding between Nerur and Nârur as the representative of Nagaroura, although one might incline to Nerur in view of its proved antiquity.

However, in the general area of s. 83 (i.e. the southern districts of Bombay Province and adjacent areas), there is no place of which the name can be identified with Nagagoura, but there are two places whose names can be derived from Nagaroura. I submit therefore that we should take *Ναγαρούρα* as the original form of the name in Ptolemy's text and that we can locate this city either at Nerur or at Nârur.

I am permitted to add that when I suggested these identifications to M. Renou, he kindly informed me that, in view of them, excessive reliance should not be placed on the reading *Ναγαγουρα* (Nagagoura).

(ii) *Καλλιγερίς*

S. 83 is remarkable in containing two names which are still current in the same form as Ptolemy gives. One is Banavasi, which is certainly the place still so called in Dharwar District : the other is Indê, which is the same name, and most probably the same place, as the town of Indi in the Bijapur District. It should not therefore come as a shock if one finds still a third name in this section surviving unchanged.

This appears to be the case with *Καλλιγερίς* (Kalligeris) which, I suggest, is Kallukeri, a place in the Dharwar District, a few miles south of Hangal. It is not marked on the O.S. Map, even of the 16 miles to the inch series, but its locality can be discovered from *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xxii, pp. 395, 398. It is in the right general

area, for s. 83 extends down to Banavasi, further south. It can be taken as a place of antiquity for it has yielded a grant and an inscription (ubi sup. and Fleet, op. cit., pp. 526-8).

The second vowel in Kalligeris, -i-, should not be taken as intended to represent the -u- of the original. It arises more probably from assimilation of Kallu—to the compound form of a Greek word, viz. Kalli—the compound form of kallos (κάλλος). This kind of assimilation could occur in several ways. It might be the work of the mariner or merchant who heard the name in India, or of the geographer to whom it was passed on in Alexandria, or of a later copyist of that geographer's text. Such assimilation seems to be the more likely explanation of those cases in Ptolemy where half of an Indian name seems to be a Greek word.

(iii) *Ταβασω*

Tabasô is a name obviously much exposed to contraction. It could easily shrink to Tâs, which is the readily detachable first syllable of a well-known place in the Southern Maratha country, Tâsgaon. Tâs, of course, has several meanings in Marathi: but that does not preclude its being really a contraction of Tabasô, for place-names tend to be corrupted, by contraction or otherwise, into current words, from which false etymologies and ætiological legends then arise, the true origin being forgotten. Tâsgaon lies, in a broad sense, between Nerur and Indi, just as Tabasô is mentioned between Nagaroura and Indê.

One should try to imagine how these names came to be recorded. Collection was not systematic; but collocation is not entirely haphazard. They were picked up at the ports. They might be given in answer to an inquiry about inland capitals, markets, or trade-routes, or as places visited by an Indian informant, or as his birthplace or home. What is to be expected, therefore, is that they will fall into groups according to the port where they were picked up. Nerur, Tâsgaon, and Indi form a group of this kind, which could well have been picked up at a port such as Malvan, and a group comprising Kallukeri and Banavasi could well originate in the same way from inquiries or conversation at a rather more southerly port, such as Kumta or Honavar.

A curious indication in s. 82 supports this view of the method of collection. The *Periplus M.E.* mentions Paithana before Tagara, but s. 82 mentions Tagara before Paithana. The explanation of

the reversed order must be that the Periplus observer is looking at these places from Barygaza (to which Paithana is the nearer of the two) and Ptolemy's informant from a place in the Southern Konkan, almost certainly Semylla, to which (whether up the Bor Ghat or a still more southerly pass) Tagara is the nearer place.

Therefore when Ptolemy in the heading to s. 83 speaks of "inland cities between the Bênda and the Pseudostomos" we should read him as really meaning "inland cities of which the names were heard at ports between the mouth of the Bênda (s. 6) and the mouth of the Pseudostomos (s. 8)".

The Commentary of Avicenna on Aristotle's Poetics

By SOHEIL AFNAN

IN this commentary there are variations from the version by Abū Bishr and additions to it. Margoliouth¹ says that the commentary is based on the version by Abū Bishr and suggests that Avicenna had a copy which had been annotated by one who had had access to the Syriac translation. If this should prove to be correct it will still not explain all the additions. That Avicenna uses *بالوحوه* ² for *ὑποκρίτης* and not the *منافق* of Abū Bishr may be due to the Syriac, but al-Fārābī³ before him had used *tragodia* and *komodia* instead of the *مدح* (panegyric) and *هجاء* (invective) of Abū Bishr. Other changes may be explained by Avicenna's ability to get out of the faithful but obscure Arabic rendering more than the ordinary reader; as when he prefers *لغة* to *لسان* for *γλῶττα* (1457 b 1) and *تضرع* to *صلاة* for *εὐχῆ* (1456 b 11).

The first variant is in the title. Avicenna speaks of "poetry", Abū Bishr of "poets" and al-Fārābī of "the art of the poets". Does this come from the Syriac the beginning of which is lost or from the version by Yahya b. 'Adī⁴ or did he know the other treatise by Aristotle of which only a fragment remains?⁵

Other variants are:—

	<i>Avicenna</i>	<i>Abū Bishr.</i>
<i>ἄγών</i> (1450 b 19)	مناظرة	جهاد
<i>κλειψύδρα</i> (1451 a 8)	فنجان الساعة	قلايسودرا
<i>μεταφορά</i> (1457 b 7)	نقل	تأدى
<i>περιπέτεια</i> (1452 a 23)	اشتغال	ارادة
<i>σπουδαῖος</i> (1449 b 24)	كامل الفضيلة	حريص
<i>στοιχείον</i> (1456 b 20)	لفظ	اسطقس
<i>φιλάνθρωπον</i> (1452 b 40)	تقيه	محبة الانسانية

¹ *Analecta Orientalia ad Poeticam Aristoteliam*, Londini, 1887.

² Loc. cit., p. 37.

³ Ed. Arberry, *RSO.*, vol. 17, p. 266.

⁴ *Fihrist* (Cairo), p. 350.

⁵ *Περὶ Ποιητῶν* ed. A. Rostagni.

Among the additions are :—

ان الشعر هو كلام مخيل مؤلف من اقوال موزونة متساوية وعند العرب مقفاة¹.

so he knew that Greek poetry did not rhyme. Then he enumerated and tried to define the various kinds of Greek poetry—none of which he understood—and added :—

ومنه نوع يسمى افيجاناساوس واحده انبدقلس ومنه نوع يسمى اوقوستى وهو نوع يلقب به صناعة الموسيقى².

Then he says :—

فان الاقويل الموزونة التى عملها عدة من الفلاسفة ومنهم سقراط قد وزننا اما بوزن حيا الثالث المؤلف من اربعة عشر رجلا اما بوزن³.
and about the dithyramb :—

كان يؤلف من اربعة وعشرين رجلا وهى المقاطع⁴.

Abū Bishr omits the name of Aeschylus but Avicenna says :—

ثم جاء اسخيلوس القديم فخلط ذلك بالالحان فوقع للطرغوديات الحاناً بقيت عند المغنين والرقاصين⁵.

about iambic poetry :—

هو وزن ذوائى عشر رجلا وكان يستعمله شعراء بلاد وايقا ودويامنو⁶.

about the tetrameter :—

ليس يجب ان يصنى الى الترجمة التى دلت على ان الرباعيات هى التى تضاعف الوزن فيها اربع مرار بل الترجمة الصحيحة ما يخالف ذلك⁷.

and the epic :—

فانه من ستة عشر رجلا⁸

Abū Bishr translated the definition of tragedy :—

فصناعة المديح هى تشبيه ومحاكاة العمل الارادى الحريص والكمال التى لها عظم ومداد فى القول النافع ما خلا كل واحد واحد من الانواع التى هى فاعلة فى الاجزاء لا بالمواعيد وتعدل الانفعالات والتاثيرات بالرحمة والخوف وتتنظف الذين يفعلون⁹.

¹ *Analecta*, p. 80.

² p. 86.

³ p. 90.

⁴ p. 91.

⁵ p. 14.

⁶ p. 85.

⁷ p. 87.

⁸ p. 90.

⁹ p. 93.

Avicenna rendered it :—

ان الطراغودية هي محاكاة فعل كامل الفضيلة على المرتبة بقول ملائم جدا لا يختص بفضيلة فضيلة جزئية تؤثر في الجزئيات لا من جهة الملكة بل من جهة الفعل محاكاة تنفعل لها الانفس برحة وتقوى¹.

Note the two words for ἀπαγγελία ملكة مواعيد.

Avicenna knew that Aristotle invented the term "entelleychy". كما ان المعلم الاول اخترع ايضا اشياء ووضع للمعنى الذى يقوم فى النفس مقام الجنس اسماً هو انطلاخيا².

The commentary ends :—

هذا هو تلخيص القدر الذى وجد فى هذه البلاد من كتاب الشعر للمعلم الاول وقد بقى منه شطر صالح³.

hence he knew of the lost second book, at least indirectly.

How are these additions and variants, only a few of which have been noted here, to be explained? Avicenna knew no Greek, by his own admission both in the commentary and elsewhere,⁴ so the statement in Aya Sofia 3572,⁵ can be ignored. It is unlikely that he knew any Syriac. It is certain that his knowledge of Greek poetry was more than is usually credited to Muslim philosophers of that age, though they all failed to understand what a drama is.

It should be added that Tkatsch in the introduction to his edition of the Arabic rendering of Abū Bishr, which is stored with learning, explains the question merely by repeating the suggestion of Margoliouth stated at the beginning of this note.

¹ p. 93.

² p. 108.

³ p. 112.

⁴ رسالة جوهر النفس (Cairo).

⁵ Islamica 4, 546.

A Cryptic Message and a New Solution

By L. C. HOPKINS



Fig. 1

THIS defiant little inscription of three words has held its secret through twenty centuries. On the Bone relics of the Honan Find it is not uncommon, but in the inscribed Bronzes, even the oldest, it is not met. Brief and perhaps paltry as it may seem, it has not failed to engage the attention of Chinese specialists without any very convincing conclusion. But on one point Chinese critics do concur. These small three-word entries are no part of the main inscription of the oracular sentence. They stand isolated in place, and have no syntactic connection with the latter. Perhaps they were archivists' memoranda, or, as I suggest, the craftsman's directions to his finisher. They have none of the importance of the sentences, and their only interest now is that they have proved inscrutable. I, too, have joined in the quest and have, indeed, excogitated a conclusion acceptable to other students!

The most noteworthy contribution to the reduction of this archaic crux should be that of Mr. T'ang Lan 唐蘭. He has devoted three and a half closely printed pages to a study of the phrase, and decides that, in modern dress, it should be 不才 黽 *pu ts'ai min*, adding that 才 *ts'ai* has to be taken with the meaning of its near-homophone 再 *tsai*. On the face of it that seems ambiguous. But he proceeds to an ingenious and learned argument which it is due to his distinction as a critic to summarize here.

The first character gives no trouble at all. It is 不 *pu*, the simple negative Not. With that initial negative result, however, we


leave simplicity behind. The second character



(Fig. 2) has

been attacked by most of the group of Chinese scholars with little success, and with the exception of Mr. Kuo Mo-jo, Mr. T'ang Lan refers to their efforts somewhat slightly. But not so to Kuo's, whose explanation of the design he approves as showing great insight 卓見 *cho chien*, though he dissents from the conclusion reached


by Kuo that the trisyllabic phrase should be, in modern dress, 不 鰲 黽 *pu man min*, equivalent, he claims, to 不 模 糊 *pu mo hu*, "not blurred, not indistinct." Now Kuo had had occasion


to discuss an interesting form  (Fig. 3) (as, we shall see, has


T'ang Lan), after deciding that the second of the three characters was a representation of some sort of workman's tool, in which the pointed triangle stands for the actual tool, and the upper extremity for its handle; and in another passage Kuo points out that Fig. 3 exactly shows two hands grasping this implement in manual operation (正象兩手執此器操作之形, *chêng hsiang liang shou ts'ao tso chih hsing*).


It is now time to introduce Mr. T'ang Lan, his valuable essay, his novel treatment of certain known and certain unknown characters, and the chain of sequent arguments that led him to his final evaluation of the cryptic phrase under review.


Mr. T'ang begins his study in this way. There is, he says, in

the oracular sentences, a character  (Fig. 4), and also one



written  (Fig. 5), and these two forms are one and the same

character, following the same variation as that shown by  (Fig. 6)

and  (Fig. 7), both early forms of 午 *wu*, the seventh of the twelve


Branches. They depict the two hands grasping  (Fig. 8). And


what is that? According to Kuo Mo-jo it is 鰲 *man*, a trowel, but to that conclusion Kuo has been misled by following an erroneous phonetic clue. For my part, continues T'ang, I see in the two

forms  (Fig. 9) and  (Fig. 10), of which variants the latter is

the true and original type (正體 *chêngt'i*), and the former a modification 變例 *pien li*; and, what is more, this true and original type is the character 才 *ts'ai*. (I call attention to this new and important statement and equation by Mr. T'ang Lan, the italicizing of three words is mine.) And he more than once insists that this simplest shape is the primitive form (原形 *yüan hsing*) of


才 *ts'ai*, timber, material, being of the same formal category as 午 *wu* (in the margin here he writes 杵 *chu*, pestle), 而銳首即 𠂔 也 *erh jui shou chi ch'a yeh*, "and having a pointed end, that is to say, a *ch'a*." And having come up against this character 𠂔 *ch'a*, he starts on a rather intricate and iterative excursion, where I need not follow him far, as it hardly touches the course of my own argument. Having returned from this excursion, Mr. T'ang resumes his main argument. I hold, he declares, that 才 *ts'ai* has to be read as 再 *tsai* "again", the sounds of both being originally akin. Now

in the oracular sentences the character  (Fig. 11) depicts the

two hands grasping 才, and has to be read with the sound of *tsai*. In proof of this, he cites three passages from the Bone fragments (which I have verified), in each of which the character  (Fig.

12) is found preceding one of the special terms of sacrificial ritual (here used as verbs), e.g. 用 *yung*, 侑 *yu*, 𦍋 *fên*, 𠂔 *fang*, and it likewise precedes the term for inquiry, 貞 *chêng*. In all these cases, he repeats, the sound is to be taken as *tsai* 再, and thus there is no doubt 才 also is to be read *tsai*.

Now it gives me much satisfaction to be able, from my own collection of inscribed bone fragments, to confirm, indeed to prove,

the correctness of Mr. T'ang Lan's equation of  (Fig. 13) with

the modern character 再 *tsai*. My bone (No. 710A), which Mr. T'ang has never seen, is some $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. long by $\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide. It displays three characters, and three only, arranged vertically, and without any other written sign above or below it. The surface of the piece is convex. The characters are rather large, and are firmly cut. I give below a faithful copy:—

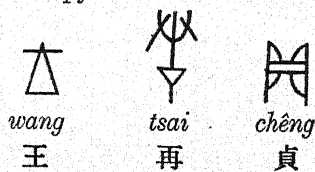


Fig. 14

If Mr. T'ang's equation is valid, the sense of the above three words is "The King again inquired", and I suggest that it is here

very hard to contest the appropriateness of the term “again”, or to replace it by any more befitting word. The sentence is consistent and reasonable. Mr. T'ang has nothing to say as to the actual sense of the term 再 *tsai* in the contexts he has studied. I suppose because he knew, and knew that his Chinese readers knew, that this word *tsai* had one, and only one, sense, viz. *again, a second time*. And further, the evidence of my Bone 710A in favour of T'ang's equation with 再 *tsai* is as obvious as undeniable.

I have also some considerations to put forward respecting the character 才 *ts'ai*, which plays such a vital part in T'ang Lan's argument. It is the 209th Radical in the Shuo Wen, but is unusual

in having no followers. Its Lesser Seal script is 𠂔 (Fig. 15),

and it is described as 艸木之初也 *ts'ao mu chih ch'u yeh*, “the start of vegetation,” a description T'ang quite ignores, as I believe rightly. But I wish I could feel more assurance as to the real nature and use of the object identified as *ts'ai* by T'ang. He speaks of it as of the Order of the Pestle 杵類 *ch'u lei*, and we should note this, that it is the original character for 畚 *ch'a*. Again, it became the term not only for a field implement 田器 *t'ien ch'i*, but also for a ladle, 匕 *pi*, and in both these later applications the form




(Fig. 16) well suited. But what sort of implement could it be,

and for what purpose intended, with that triangular and sharp-pointed blade? If indeed it is a blade. It cannot be meant for a hoe, or a spade, or a mattock, a spud is possible, or a pick, in view of the two hands grasping the long handle shown in my Fig. 5. But what this latter seems to me to suggest is a beetle driving in a wedge, though this seems rather unlikely. And so, on a note of doubt and uncertainty about the construction and purpose of this “two handed engine”, we pass on to the third and last unit of our cryptic phrase. This is, in Mr. T'ang Lan's eyes, the character, as now written, 黽 “of the frog or toad kind”. The term *min* is not in current use either in speech or writing, I may say, but it is the Shuo Wen's 477th Radical, denoting Batrachians. And here, Mr. T'ang Lan and myself must part company, for I challenge his identification absolutely. But before putting forward a rival equation, I am bound to present T'ang's views. He first assembles a group of four characters, 黽 繩 墨 豐 *mên, mên, mên, mên*, “the



sounds of all of which are akin," says T'ang, and so they are in Cantonese, as Romanized above, but not in the corrupt Pekinese dialect. And from this phonetic kinship of the four words, which, as we should say, all begin with the letter *m*, he draws a notable conclusion. In support of this, he quotes from the *Chou Li*, or *Rites of the Chou*, the words: "The Annalist judges from the Blackness 史占墨 *shih chan mo*," while "the Augur judges from the branch lines, 卜人占坼 *pu jên chan ts'ê*".¹

Now this word 墨 *mo*, blackness, as used in the *Chou Li* is generally held to indicate the vertical main fissure, faintly visible on the obverse surface of an inscribed bone, the stem from which tiny lesser cracks branch out. Which being so, Mr. T'ang concludes thus. Here the words *pu ts'ai min*, 不才鼃 are equivalent to *pu tsai mo* 不再墨 and would thus accord with the phrase in the *Chou Li*, "The Annalist judges from the Blackness," 史占墨 *shih chan mo*. So T'ang considers that the character 鼃 *min* frog, could, and here should, bear the meaning of 墨 *mo* "Blackness". To me this seems an unjustifiable assumption. Surely such a latitudinarian conception of the usage of Borrowed Characters is not warranted, for the syllables *min* and *mo* are not homophones, nor even synonyms.

And that brings me to the great rift dividing Mr. T'ang Lan and myself. I deny that this third character of the "Cryptic Message" (my Fig. 1) is *min* at all, and I claim that it is *chu*, now written

蛛 a spider. It is most faithfully represented by the form 

(Fig. 1), while several sketchier and scratchier variants exist,

such as  (Fig. 17) and  (Fig. 18).² And as a spider has

eight legs, one may, perhaps, see in the two cross lines traversing the central body a diagrammatic supplement of four lateral legs, two on each side of the body. However this may be, this double crossing of the last member of the cryptic trinity is as inappropriate to the figure of a Frog, *min*, as to that of a Spider, *chu*, indeed even more so.


At this point it becomes necessary to illustrate by one or more

¹ See Biot's *Rites des Tcheou*, vol. 2, pp. 75 and 79.

² See, for example, p. 5 of the List of characters at the end of vol. 2 of T'ang Lan's 甲骨文存 *Chia Ku Wen Ts'un*, where the five examples are given as forms of 鼃 *min*.

figures by what method the syllable *min* came into graphic currency. We do not find *min* as a character, standing alone, but only as one element in a compound, and then always as a Determinative.

Let us begin by consulting the Shuo Wen, and learn what the author has to show and to say on the Lesser Seal version of *min*,

his 477th (so-called) Radical  (Fig. 20). This he says, 从它象

形 *ts'ung t'o hsiang hsing*, "is composed with serpent, a pictogram," a statement Tuan Yü-ts'ai glosses as, "depicts its head and below that its big belly." The Shuo Wen continues, "the heads of the *min* and the '它 *t'o* serpent, are alike." Tuan evidently, in mentioning the "big belly", sees the Toad, not the Frog. For my part I would emphasize the word *head*, as the key in any comparison of *min* and *chu*, the bole of a tree, which are seen in combination.¹



Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig. 23

This compound character, of which Figs. 21-3 are variants, and 邾 *chu* the modern script, stood for the name of a small feudal State in Shantung Province, and is mentioned in one of the earliest sentences of the *Tso chuan*. Fig. 22 is of a slightly corrupt or stylized type, the tail and two hind legs having coalesced into a cross-hatched pattern. Convinced that in this compact little figure



(Fig. 25), half picture, half symbol, we have the semblance of

a Spider, it is for me to show how that view leads to my promised new solution. The explanation is very simple. One word for the concept Red or Redness in Chinese speech is *chu*. Faced with the difficulty of representing to the eye so generalized a notion as redness, these poet-scribes recalled how an even more teasing obstacle had been by-passed by the method of Homophonic Borrowing (*chia chieh*). Thus, to take a striking example, the wind blows, but no

¹ See the *Ku Chou Pien*, chüan 97, pp. 28, 29.

official scribe could draw what he could not see. "Needs must," however, when his Shang Ruler desired to know to-morrow's weather, as he often did. And here, to the relief of the harassed scribe, the word for wind was *fêng*, while another word of exactly the same sound was the name of a rare but splendid bird which he could and did picture. In this way he could suggest either gentle breeze or dust-laden gale, for which this homophone was both the namesake and the symbol. So, too, for the same reason, and by the same method, a way of escape was opened to the primitive graph-designer in search of a model. Here *chu* was the sound and *red* was the sense, and two different homophones were available. One of these was *chu*, the trunk or bole of a tree, now written 株, and this type appears on the Bronzes, but not, as far as I know, on the Honan bones.



Fig. 26




Fig. 27



Fig. 28


The other homophone is *chu*, Spider, now written 蛛 (usually found in the disyllabic term 蜘蛛 *chih-chu*, the "spinning spider"),

but on the Honan bones, where alone it appears, as  (Fig. 29).

So at last we reach what our cryptic phrase *seems* to say, namely *pu tsai chu*, that is, "not again spider," which is nonsense, but what it actually *means* to say is "not again reddened", which is excellent sense, and a record of value not yet fully appreciated. We do not know why red pigment was applied to some inscriptions and not to others. Was it desired to add emphasis to the related entry, or to enjoin some restriction on the scribe? There are in my collection only two instances of its use. But Jung Kêng notes twelve among the inscriptions illustrated and transcribed in his volume and enumerated in my footnote below.¹ On one of these, No. 2, he adds the comment (on his p. 5), "The characters on this Bone are smeared with red," 塗朱 *t'u chu*. Again, on another of these twelve selected characters, No. 171, there appear two imperfect columns of writing. Referring to the five characters of the right-hand column, Jung observes 塗墨 *t'u mo*, "smeared with black,"

¹ Bone fragments Nos. 2, 171, 184, 224, 579 to 587, with the exception of 584.

while on the four of the left column he notes "smeared with red". Why this special distinction of colour? Any why an even more surprising treatment of his (Jung's) Bone No. 587? This particular fragment contains only two characters, which are not in mutual

contact. The upper one is  (Fig. 30), namely (following Kuo

Mo-jo) 南 *nan*, South, and is "smeared with red", while the lower, 貞 *chêng*, to inquire, is separated, with evident purpose, by a grooved line from Fig. 30, and is "smeared with black". I should add that the series of fragments from 579 to 587, with the exception of 584, are noted collectively by Jung as being marked with red. Briefly summarized, my solution is that the hitherto unknown character (the third in my Fig. 1), is *chu*, a spider, but here used for another homophone, *chu*, red, thus providing a key to the meaning of the cryptic sentence in question and proving, so far as I know, the only proposed solution that does so

De minimis non curat lex. Does this dictum hold good elsewhere than in Courts of Law? Is my hypothetical battle between the Pro-batrachians and the Pro-arachnids perhaps one of such minimis? Will the contest be adjudged as of Lilliputian dimensions and as an inadequate criterion of archæological or even epigraphic values? However the verdict may go, there will remain the old proverb counselling the cobbler to stick to his last, and that counsel I may claim to have observed to the last.

Some Sino-European Xylographic Works,

1662-1718

By C. R. BOXER

THIS article is an attempt, in the nature of things tentative only, to carry a stage further the identification and location of the principal Sino-European works printed in China during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, as recorded by Henri Cordier in his *L'Imprimerie Sino-Européenne en Chine* (Paris, 1901) and by Paul Pelliot in *T'oung Pao* (vol. xxiii, pp. 356-360) (Leiden, 1924). Considerations of space have obliged me to confine myself to a discussion of some ten of the most interesting of these, that is those which have the whole or the greatest part of the text printed in a European language. I therefore omit all those which have the title-page in Latin and the text in Chinese characters.

Pelliot commences his list of eighteen works with the *Hsi-ju ér mu tzŭ* (西儒耳目資) of Nicholas Trigault, but this book was printed entirely in Chinese ideographs, judging by the copy catalogued in the *Bibliotheca Lindesiana. Catalogue of Chinese Books and Manuscripts* (Aberdeen, 1895), page 22, item 437, which was sold at Sotheby's in May, 1947. I shall therefore begin my list with the *Sapientia Sinica* of the Jesuit Fathers Ignacio da Costa and Prospero Intorcetta, printed at Kien-chang (建昌) in Kiangsi Province, anno 1662, five copies of which are recorded by Cordier (British Museum; Bibliothèque National, Paris; former Imperial Library, Vienna; National Library, Palermo; and an incomplete copy at the Jesuit College of Siccawei, Shanghai). I cannot locate any further copies at present, but it seems to me that the printer (or rather engraver) of this work and the next one listed, was probably the Chinese convert named Paul, whom Padre Intorcetta took with him from Canton at the start of his trip to Rome in 1669-1671, but who returned home from Goa. This identification is made on the strength of a remark by the waspish Spanish Dominican, Frey Domingo Fernandez Navarrete, on page 61 of his *Controversias Antiguas y Modernas de la Mission de la Gran China* (printed but not published at Madrid in 1679), where referring to the departure of Padre Intorcetta from the group of missionaries

SINARVM SCIENTIA

POLITICO-MORALIS

殷 yān

鐸 tō

澤 cè

A

耶 iē

穌 sū

會 hoēi

P. PROSPERO INTORCETTA

Sicvlo Societatis

IESV.

IN

Lvcem edita

著 chú

INNOCENTIA VICTRIX

SIVE

Sententia Comitiorum Imperij Sinici

PRO

INNOCENTIA

CHRISTIANÆ RELIGIONIS

Lata juridicè per Annum 1669.
e3

Iussu R. P. Antonij de Gouvea Soc.^{is}
IESV, ibidem V. Provincialis

Sinico-Latinè exposita

In Quàm cheū metropoli provincia Quàm tū in Regno Sinarum.

Anno Salv^{tis} H^umanæ MDCLXXI.

detained at Canton in 1667-1670, he writes, "he took with him a good Christian, a printer of books named Paul."

2. *Sinarum Scientia Politico-Moralis*, edited by Padre Prospero Intorcetta and published partly at Canton in 1667, being completed at Goa in 1669, presumably by the christian convert Paul *supra*. In addition to the half-dozen copies listed by Cordier and Pelliot (Bibliothèque National, Paris; National Library, Palermo; Ex-Imperial Library, Vienna; School of Oriental Studies, London; Vatican Library, Rome; and the Academy of History at Madrid) there is another copy in the National Library at Peking—or was when I visited that institution in 1932. Friar Navarrete makes some acidulous observations about the allegedly defective nature of Intorcetta's translations in these two works of 1662-9, claiming that the Portuguese Jesuits Antonio de Gouvea and Manuel Jorge both criticized the *Sapientia Sinica* on this score (*Controversias Antiquas y Modernas*, p. 105).

3. *Innocentia Victrix* (Canton, 1671). Usually ascribed by bibliographers to Padre Antonio de Gouvea, S.J., although some authorities give its authorship to the Italian Padre Lubelli, and others to the Fleming, François de Rougement. Since it was obviously drawn up by a group of the Jesuits imprisoned at Canton in 1667-1671, of whom Gouvea was the Vice-Provincial and the senior, the ascription to him is probably the best. Fourteen copies of this work are listed by Cordier and Pelliot (four in the Vatican, Rome; three in the Bibliothèque National, Paris; two in the Academy of History at Madrid; and one each in the School of Oriental Studies, London; British Museum; University Library at Munich; a copy offered for sale by Quaritch in 1898; the late Sir Leicester-Harmsworth's copy [Maggs, *Cat.* 403 nr: 365a]). To the foregoing should be added a magnificent copy in the Lenox Collection at the New York Public Library; another listed as item 441 on p. 29 of the *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*; an imperfect copy formerly in the writer's collection, and a superb copy in the original wrappers recently acquired by him from Messrs. Maggs, making a total of seventeen or eighteen copies in all, since some of the copies offered for sale by Quaritch and Maggs may be identical. This work, therefore, although undoubtedly very rare, is not quite so uncommon as is usually supposed. The Portuguese Padre Antonio de Gouvea, S.J., was one of Navarrete's *bêtes noires*; and it is interesting to note that despite the Dominican's allegations of the

reluctance of the Jesuits to use the crucifix and other common symbols of Christianity, the Cross and emblems of the Passion are depicted on the frontispiece of this work. Possibly it was printed by Intorcetta's protégé Paul, as he must have returned from Goa about this time.

4. *Epistola P. Ferdinandi Verbiest* (Peking, 1678). In addition to the five copies of this rare 20-page folio xylographic tract listed by Cordier and Pelliot (two at Brussels; two in the Vatican at Rome; and one at Siccawei, Shanghai) may be recorded another in the Bollandist's Library, a seventh in the Jesuit Archives at Rome, and an eighth copy which I saw at the National Library, Peking, in 1932. Omitting Father Verbiest's astronomical works which have been fully recorded by previous writers, the latest of whom is Père Henri Bernard in the pages of *Monumenta Sinica*, Vols. iii and v, we come to the

5. *Relatio Sepulturae* (Peking, 1700) of Father Gaspar Castner, S.J. Cordier and Pelliot record twelve copies of this work (three at Brussels; one each in the British Museum; School of Oriental Studies, London; Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo; Cordier's copy; Pelliot's copy; Maggs Bros., *Cat.* 403 (1921) and 521 (1929); a truncated copy of Mr. Norris; "un exemplaire acquis à Paris par des Japonais en 1922"; and the Academy of History at Madrid). To these I can add a copy in the National Library at Peking (1932); another in the Bodleian at Oxford; and a third, from the Mensing collection, in the Scheepvaart Museum at Amsterdam, making a total of fifteen recorded copies. The Bodleian copy has some MSS. notes in Portuguese, and on a blank leaf between the end of the text and the three crude wood-block sketch-maps, a note in Italian copied from a letter of Padre Francisco de Rossi, Rector of the Novitiate at Goa, dated 18th December, 1728, concerning an alleged miracle on the island of Sanchuan, wrought through the intercession of Saint Francis Xavier who died there in 1552. It is in the original wrappers and in good condition, being bound up with a copy of the

6. *Brevis Relatio* (Peking, 1701), the two variants of which work, perhaps the most famous production of the Sino-European xylographic press, are fully described by Paul Pelliot on pp. 355-372 of his masterly bibliographical essay on the subject in vol. xxiii of *T'oung Pao* (December, 1924). A dozen copies of this work are recorded by Cordier and Pelliot. (Two in the Bibliothèque National,

Paris; two in the Academy of History at Madrid; and one in each of the following: British Museum; Vatican Library; National Library, Palermo; Bollandist Library; University of Petrograd; Pelliot's own copy, and copies offered by Hierseman, of Leipzig, and Maggs, of London, in 1929-1931.) To these should be added a copy in the University Library of Gottingen; one in the Scheepvaart Museum at Amsterdam; two sold by Messrs. Maggs to America in 1946; another bought by the present writer in New York the same year; and no less than four copies in the Bodleian. Allowing for the fact that one or two of the booksellers' copies are probably identical with some of the others listed, this gives a minimum total of eighteen or nineteen recorded copies, thus making the *Brevis Relatio* the least rare, though not the least interesting nor the least important, of these Sino-European xylographic productions. Pelliot's article in *T'oung Pao* disclosed the fact that there were two separate editions of this work, of which the first was printed at Peking in 1701, and the second (in all probability) at Canton in the following year. The French *savant* implied that the Peking edition was the rarest; but the fourteen copies which I have examined or collated, are equally divided between the Peking edition (Pelliot's edition A) and the Canton reprint (Pelliot's edition B), so there is evidently little or nothing to choose between the two on this score. The easiest way to tell the difference between them is by examining the title-page, where the first word in the penultimate line is printed *Opera* in the Peking edition, and *Operâ* in the supposedly Cantonese.

One of the copies in the Bodleian (944 d.l.) has a hitherto unrecorded leaf of *errata sic corrige* at the end, referring to important alterations on pp. 36, 41, 53, and 59 of the text. The interest of this particular copy is further enhanced by its having two leaves at the end covered with autograph notes by the Jesuit Vice-Provincial Antonius Thomas, and by his colleagues, Joachimus Bouvet, Philippus Grimaldi, and Joannis Franciscus Gerbillon, all dated 30th September, 1701, accepting responsibility for the correctness of certain passages in the text. The Red Seal of the Vice-Provincial with the IHS monograph is stamped on the first and last pages of this copy, which from a note on the title-page once belonged to the Jesuit College at Paris. The actual holograph signatures of these Jesuits differ somewhat from the xylographic reproductions on the *verso* of fol. 61 of the text.

Brevis Relatio eorū,
quæ spectant ad Declaratio-
nem Sinarū Imperatoris

Kam Hī

circa Cæli, Cūmfucij, et Auorū
cultū, datam anno 1700
Accedunt Primatū, Doctissimo-
rūq; viroru, et antiquissimæ Tra-
ditionis testimonia.

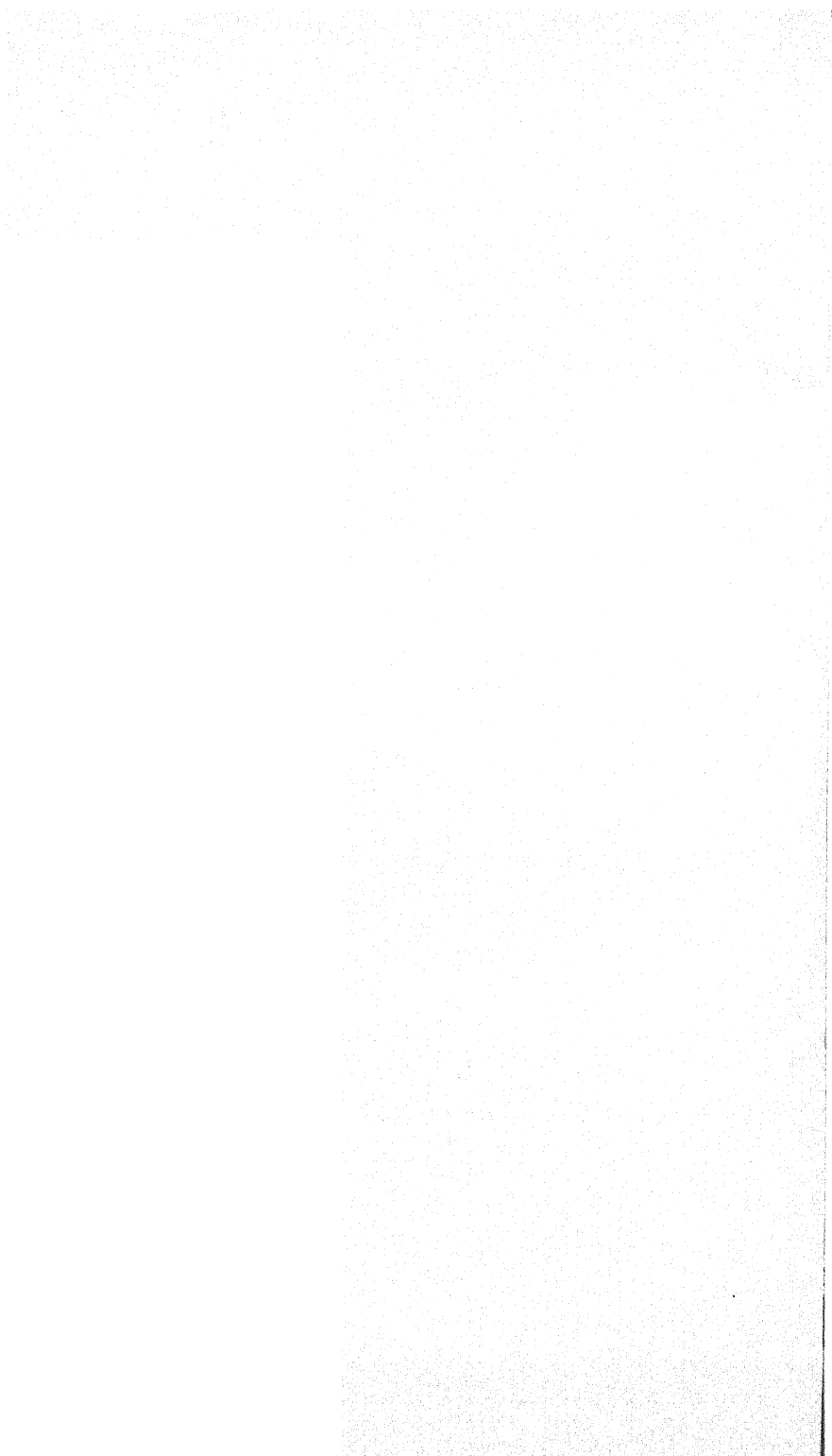
Opera PP. Societ. Jesu Pekini pro
Euangelij propagatione laborantium.

7. *Arte de la Lengua Mandarinina* (Canton, 1703). Some thirteen copies of this rare Chinese grammar, based on the work of the Spanish Dominican Varo completed at Foochow in 1682, are recorded by bibliographers; but one or two of these are almost certainly identical, albeit without collating them all, it is impossible to say which (the Montucci-Klaproth copy sold by Hiersemann, of Leipzig, in his Catalogue, 302, no. 1199; the Fr. J. B. d'Illiceto-Fourmont copy; the De Guignes-Landresse copy; University of Munich; University of Kazan; Asiatic Museum, Leningrad; two copies in the Vatican Library; ex-Imperial Library, Vienna; Bibliothèque National, Paris; School of Oriental Studies, London; Lord Crawford's copy catalogued in the *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, No. 436, probably identical with the copy sold by Quaritch in 1886; and a copy sold by Maggs Bros., in 1931, *Cat.* 555, no. 49). The second edition of the *Bibliotheca Sinica* lists a total of fifteen copies, but these include manuscript versions and the Naples reprint of 1835. Although this grammar is based on Varo's manuscript draft of 1682, the wording of the title-page makes it clear that its publication in 1703 at Canton was the work of the Mexican missionary Frey Pedro de la Piñuela, O.F.M. It forms an interesting and valuable contribution by the Mendicant Orders to a field in which the Jesuits were pre-eminent.

8. *Exemplar Epistolae* (Peking, 1704). The existence of this xylographic work was deduced by Pelliot from a long note appended by the editors of the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses* to the letter of Padre Gozani written from Kaifeng-fu to the Portuguese Padre Joseph Suares at Peking in November, 1704 (*vide T'oung Pao*, vol. xxiii, p. 361, n. (1)). Neither Pelliot, Cordier, Streit, nor any other bibliographer whose works I have consulted, could locate an example of this rarest of all the productions of the Sino-European xylographic press; and its existence was only recently placed beyond dispute by my purchase of the only copy so far come to light, from H. P. Kraus, of New York, in 1946. As Pelliot had surmised in his note on p. 361 of *T'oung Pao*, vol. xxiii, the work is a xylographic edition of the six items he lists in Spanish and Portuguese, of which the most interesting is the lengthy letter of the Augustinian Governor of the Bishoprick, of Macao, Frei Miguel dos Anjos, dated 18th January, 1670, and dealing with the escape of Fr. Domingos Fernandez Navarrete, O.P., from Canton and Macao, with the help of the Captain-General of the Portuguese



Impreso en Canton año
de 1703.



colony, Dom Alvaro de Silva. It has no separate title-page or frontispiece, and is a quarto of fourteen leaves folded in the Chinese manner, and numbered in Latin numerals from 1 to 14 inclusive. The correspondence printed therein is classified as *Juxta originale, quod asseruatur Pekini in Collegio eiusdem Societatis Iesu*. From the Gozani-Suares correspondence of November, 1704, it is clear that the originals of these documents were found by Suares in the archives of the Jesuit College at Peking on the 30th July, 1704, eve of the feast of Saint Ignatius Loyola, and were printed a few months later. Whether or not the title-page is missing, can only be determined by the discovery of another copy. The excessive rarity of this little tract is probably accounted for by the fact that it was printed about a year before the arrival of the Papal Legate de Tournon at the court of Kanghsi in the winter of 1705. A polemical work of this nature on the thorny question of the Chinese Rites could not possibly have met with his approval; and it is likely that either he forbade its circulation, or that the Jesuits withdrew it of their own volition. The editors of the *Lettres Edifiantes et curieuses* state that these letters had been shown to "a Vicar-Apostolic and to a Secretary of the Bishop of Peking" before their publication, but they do not explicitly state that these functionaries authorized their appearance in print.

It may be observed in passing that the majority of these Sino-Jesuit xylographic works are not provided with the ecclesiastical licences obligatory for all books printed under Roman Catholic auspices. This omission is explained by Fr. Navarrete on p. 240 of his *Controversias Antiguas y Modernas* (Madrid, 1679), where writing of the decisions taken by the missionary Junta at Canton on the 18th December, 1667, he states that Pope Paul V had allowed books printed by the Jesuits and the Friars in China and Japan to be published with the permission of their local superiors, without reference to the proper ecclesiastical authority at Macao, where the headquarters of the Far Eastern missions were for long located. The Jesuits at any rate made full use of this concession, as may be seen from the list of works printed under their auspices in Japan and China during the halcyon days of the mission.

9. *Relacion Sincera y Verdadera* (Heungshan, 1712). Hardly less rare than the foregoing item is this curious work, xylographically printed at Heungshan (香山), the modern Chungshan (中山) or Shekki, in defence of the rights of the Portuguese *Padroado*

or Crown Patronage in 1712. I can only trace three recorded copies, two of which were sold by Messrs. Maggs Bros. in 1921, one copy being bought by Sir Leicester Harmsworth (after whose death it was sold again in London in 1946), whilst the second went to Tokyo. The third copy was Paul Pelliot's own. The complete text of this work was reprinted by Padre Gervais in the *Boletim do Governo Ecclesiastico da Diocese de Macau*, ano xviii, Nos. 208-212, pp. 126-7, 180-5, 213-18, from a manuscript copy in the archives of the Cathedral Chapter. The great rarity of this pamphlet is probably due to the fact that, like the *Exemplar Epistolae*, it dealt with the thorny topics of the *Padroado* and the Chinese Rites, and maintained a viewpoint which was subsequently repudiated by the Vatican.

10. *Informatio pro Veritate* (Peking, 1717). This appears to be the most voluminous publication of the xylographic series of 1662-1718, containing as it does over 180 closely printed pages. I can only trace seven recorded copies (two in the British Museum; two in the Vatican; one each at the National Library, Palermo, and the Bibliotheca Corsali at Rome, besides that listed in Maggs Bros., *Cat.* 403 (1921, no. 387A) apart from the copy in my own collection, which has the frontispiece supplied in facsimile and is identical with that offered in Maggs Bros., *Cat.* 521 (1929), no. 653. Although the date of publication is given (or rather implied) on the title-page as being *Anno* 1717, and although Cordier states that it was printed at Canton, I do not think that either of these attributions will stand up to investigation. Some of the documents printed therein are dated October and November, 1717, and it is difficult to see how the work of engraving the blocks for this relatively extensive volume could have been completed within the year. Most likely the engraving was begun in 1717, but not actually finished until 1718. Regarding Cordier's attribution of the work to Canton, this seems to rest on a misreading of one of the documents printed therein; for others are explicitly stated to be "*quod originale . . . in Archivo Collegij Pekinensis Soc. Iesu*", and from the context it seems obvious that the work was printed at Peking and not at Canton. Practically all of the documents have been translated from the vernacular European and Chinese into Latin; but two letters of the Bishop of Peking, Fr. Bernardino della Chiesa, on pp. 48-9, have been left in the original Italian. *The Informatio pro Veritate* was apparently edited for publication by the German

Exemplar Epistolæ R. P. Fr. Dominici
Nauarrete sacri Ordinis Prædicatorum data
Cantone 29 Septembris anni 1669.
Ad R. P. Antonium de Govuea Societatis
IESU.

V. Provinciam V. Provinciæ Sinensis.

Juxta Originale, quod asservatur Pekini
in Collegio eiusdem Societatis.



M. R. P. V.P.

Por si v.P. fuera seruido, y gustara dar parte al
M. R. P. Vir.^o, escribo en esta, lo q' oi apunte de pala-
bra, scilicet: Que en la praxi en orden a los difun-
tos, tablillas, tiao, ò pesames & seguiremos ad ve-
dem litteræ, lo q' dispuso, y ordenò la Junta de Flam.

Jesuit Kilian Stumpf (another argument in favour of its having been printed at Peking rather than at Canton), and was formally condemned by a Decree of the Inquisition at Rome dated 24th January, 1720. This rapid condemnation so soon after publication sufficiently explains its present-day rarity. The work is of great interest for the history of the controversy over the Chinese Rites, and also contains on pp. 17-19 the translation of the recommendation of the Tribunal of Rites on the *Ts'ing-ping* (總兵) Ch'ên Ang's (陳昂) anti-Christian and anti-foreign memorial to the throne in 1717.

The statement of bibliographers that some copies of this work were issued with a Manchu title is erroneous, and is derived from a misunderstanding of Cordier's description of one of the copies in the British Museum. This has a number of related works bound up with it, including some official xylographic rescripts in Manchu and Chinese, but they were not printed as an integral part of the book. A copy of one of these pieces, Kang-hsi's decree of 31st October, 1716, relating to Padres Barros and Beauvolier, is likewise to be found in the *Bibliotheca Lindesiana. Catalogue of Chinese Books and MSS.*, page 30, item No. 31. Two others are Latin rescripts of Bishop Bernardino della Chiesa, dated 15th February and 24th September, 1718, respectively. They are likewise printed xylographically, and with the following number form the concluding items of this curious series, since I do not reckon the early nineteenth century missionary xylographic productions as being on a par with those of 1662-1718.

11. *Jornada que o senhor Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho, etc.* (Heungshan, 1718). This extremely rare work is in some ways the most curious of the whole series. In format it is somewhat smaller than the *Informatio pro Veritate*, and the text of its 186 pages is engraved in much larger type than the closely worded 188 pages of the latter. The *Jornada* is moreover unique of its kind, in that it was not written or edited by a missionary, nor does it deal with an ecclesiastical, scientific, or linguistic theme, as do all the other recorded productions of the early Sino-European xylographic press. Neither Pelliot nor Cordier had ever seen this book, and after an extensive search I am only able to record the following half-dozen copies, the first of which could not be found when I asked to see it. National Library, Lisbon; Torre do Tombo, Lisbon; two copies in the Ajuda Library, Lisbon, one of which is in a perfect state of

RELACION

sincera, y verdadera
De la justa defension
De las
Regalias, y privilegios de la Corona
de Portugal
En la Ciudad de Macao.

Escrita
Por el Doctor D. Felix Leal de Castro
En la misma Ciudad
A 4 de Febrero de 1712.

Impresa en Hiang Xan,
con las licencias necesarias.

preservation with the original wrappers and was originally in the Convent of the Necessidades; British Museum copy which lacks the frontispiece; and a sixth in my own collection, which has the last page supplied in facsimile and is identical with the copy listed in Maggs Bros., *Cat.* 555 (1931), no. 48. My copy has a partly obliterated but still legible inscription dated 1740 at the foot of the title page, recording that it was a gift from the Jesuit Padre Henrique de Carvalho, Confessor of the Prince (later King) Dom José, of Portugal, and an influential patron of the China Mission in his day and generation (1682-1740).

The *Jornada* is not dated, but it was written by Albuquerque's chief-of-staff, the Algarvian Captain João Tavares de Velles Guerreiro soon after the Governor's arrival in Macao at the end of May, 1718, judging from the wording of the concluding paragraphs. Since the *Relacion Verdadera* of 1712 is explicitly stated to have been printed 'xylographically at Heungshan (香山) although written at Macao, it seems probable that the blocks for the *Jornada* were engraved there likewise, although the place of printing is usually given as Macao or Canton. Another possibility is that the *Jornada* was actually printed at Peking, through the medium of the Portuguese Jesuit João Mourão, who was a great admirer of Antonio de Albuquerque, and who was directly instrumental in bringing the Governor to the favourable notice of both the Emperor Kang-hsi and the Viceroy of Goa. Pending clarification of this point, I have tentatively listed the work as being engraved at Heungshan in the belief that this is the most likely supposition. This Chinese edition was reprinted at Lisbon in 1732, by a Spanish or Catalan printer rejoicing in the name of Don Jayme La Te y Sagau. This version was reprinted with a scholarly introduction and notes by the Portuguese Orientalist, J. F. Marques Pereira, in 1905, and again in 1913. The 1732 edition is a small octavo of xvi-427 pp. forming a neat specimen of eighteenth century printing. Captain Guerreiro has a lively style and the *Jornada* makes good reading. Particularly interesting to English readers is the account of Albuquerque's stay at Johore (October, 1717-April, 1718) where he became involved in the *coup d'état* of the Sumatran adventurer Raja Kechil, supposed son of the pederastic Sultan Mahmud, who was assassinated by his Prime Minister in 1699. Albuquerque's adventures at Johore, which form the second part of the *Jornada*, were translated by the late Mr. Trevor Hughes, of the Malayan

I N F O R M A T I O

PRO VERITATE

Contra iniquiorem famam sparsam

per Sinas

CUM CALUMNIA in PP. SOC. JESU ,

&

DETRIMENTO MISSI-

ONIS.

CÔMUNICATA MISSIONARIIS

In Imperio Sinensi.

Anno 1717.

Civil Service, and printed under the title of "A Portuguese Account of Johore" in the *Journal* of the Malayan Branch of the R.A.S., vol. 13, pt. ii (1935), pp. 111-156, to which the reader is referred for details.

Just why this series of Sino-European xylographic works begun in 1662, and continued at intervals for over half a century, should have finished in 1718, I do not know; nor, I suppose, does it matter much. Possibly the acrimony generated by the Rites Controversy, and the Papal ban on the *Informatio pro Veritate* in January, 1720, induced the Roman Curia to forbid the publication of further works in China, although this is pure supposition. The disfavour into which the Jesuits fell in the Middle Kingdom after the death of Kang-hsi in 1722, may also have had something to do with it. Whatever the reason, the series seems to have petered out about this time, although in matters of this kind it is always dangerous to make a categorical statement without being able to quote chapter and verse in justification.

FULLER TITLES OF WORKS QUOTED

1. *Sapientia Sinica, Exponente P. Ignacio a Costa Lusitano Soc. Ies. a P. Prospero Intorcetta Siculo eiusd. Soc. orbi proposita. Kién cham in urbe Sinarū Provinciae Kiám Sŭ. 1662. Superiorum permissu. [Kienchang, 1662.]*
2. *Sinarum Scientia Politico-Moralis. . . . P. Prospero Intorcetta Siculo Societatis Iesu in Lucem edita. [Canton, 1667—Goa, 1669.]*
3. *Innocentia Victorix sive Sententia Comitiorum Imperij Sinici pro Innocentia Christianae Religionis Lata Juridicè per Annum 1669. Iussu R. P. Antonij de Gouvea Soc^{is} Iesu, Ibidem V. Provincialis Sinico-Latinè exposita In Quam chetū metropoli provinciae Quàm tūm in Regno Sinarum. Anno Salvatis Humanæ MDCLXXI. [Canton, 1671.]*
4. *Epistola P. Ferdinandi Verbiest Vice-Provincialis Missionis Sinensis, anno 1678 die 15 augusti, ex Curia Pekinensi in Europam ad Socios missa. [Peking, 1678.]*
5. *Relatio Sepulturae Magno Orientis Apostolo S. Francisco Xaverio erecte in Insula Sanciano anno saeculari MDCC. [? Peking, 1700.]*
6. *Brevis Relatio eoru, quae spectant ad Declarationem Sinarū Imperatoris Kam Hī circa Caeli, Cūmfucij, et Auorū cultū, datam anno 1700. Accedunt Primatū, Doctissimorūq. virorū, et antiquissimae Traditionis testimonia. Opera PP. Societ. Jesu Pekini pro Euangelij propagatione laborantium. [Peking, 1701; and Canton, 1702.]*
7. *Arte de la Lengua Mandarin compuesto por el M, R^o, P^o, Fr. Francisco Varo de la sagrada Orden de N.P.S. Domingo, acrecentado, y reducido a mejor forma, por N^o, H^o, Fr. Pedro de la Piñuela Por y Comissario Prov. de la Mission Serafica de China. Añadiose un Confesionario muy util, y provechoso para alivio de los nuevos Ministros. Impreso en Canton ano de 1703. [Canton, 1703.]*
8. *Exemplar Epistolae R. P. Fr. Dominici Navarrete sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum data Cantone 29 Septembris anni 1669. Ad R. P. Antonium de Gouvea Societatis*

Jesu. Vice Prouincialem V. Prouvinciae Sinensis. Juxta Originale, quod asseruatur Pekini in Collegio eiusdem Societatis. [Peking, 1704.]

9. *Relacion sincera, y verdadera De la justa defension De las Regalias, y privilegios de la Corona de Portugal En la Ciudad de Macao, Escrita Por el Doctor D. Felix Leal de Castro, en la misma Ciudad A 4 de Febrero de 1712. Impressa en Hiang Xan con las Licencias necessarias.* [Heungshan, 1712.]

10. *Informatio pro Veritate contra iniquiorem famam sparsam per Sinas cum calumnia in PP. Soc. Jesu, & Detrimento Missionis. Coñmunicata Missionariis in Imperio Sinensi. Anno 1717.* [Peking, 1718.]

11. *Jornada, que o senhor Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho Governador, e Capitam Geral Da Cidade do Nome de Deos de Macao na China, Fes de Goa athe chegar a ditta Cid^e Dividida em duas partes. Offerece esta obra a Sua Senhoria O Capitam Joam Tavares de Velles Guerreyro Seo menor Servidor.* [? Heungshan, 1718.]

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4. R. STREIT and J. DINDINGER. *Bibliotheca Missionum*, Vol. V (Aachen, 1929) and Vol. VII (Aachen, 1931).
5. *Bibliotheca Lindesiana. Catalogue of Chinese Books and Manuscripts* (privately printed; Aberdeen University Press, 1895).
6. MAGGS BROS., LTD. Sale Catalogues Nos. 403 [1921]; 452 [1924]; 521 [1929]; and 555 [1931] (London, 1921-1931).

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The New Turkish

By H. C. HONY

I HAVE before me a cartoon by that talented Turkish caricaturist, Cemal Nadir, whose untimely death took place early this year. It represents a school mistress pointing to a blackboard on which is chalked a "plus" sign (+). She asks a child what the sign is called. The child replies: "Well, three years ago it was called *cem*, two years ago it was *zait*, last year it was *toplama*; I really don't know what they are calling it now."

This depicts, in a somewhat exaggerated form, the difficulties that confront the modern Turkish child. He goes for his lessons to a place which he must call there, and in the presence of school masters and other official sorts of folk, *okul*, but which his parents and people in general call *mektep*, which has been the Turkish for "school" ever since such things existed among the Turks. In the papers he will meet words which no one uses in conversation and some of which his parents will not understand.

All this is the result of a movement to reform the Turkish language, the need for which was beginning to be felt eighty years ago, but which did not start until after the constitution in 1908 and which was greatly accelerated by the reform of the alphabet in 1928 and the general surge towards Westernization which came with the establishment of the republic. The reforms which had been taking place up till this time were wholly beneficial and they were achieved in a natural manner by the efforts of literary men.

A language is a living thing. It has a natural growth and development, and as long as the changes which take place in it are spontaneous there is a good chance that it may be improved. But major operations are likely to endanger its health and even minor operations must be performed by experts and not by quacks. Now, since the change of the alphabet, the reforms have been undertaken by a body known as *Dil Kurumu* [Tongue Establishment]. (Words in square brackets represent what would be the English equivalent in a "New English", and are no more ridiculous than their Turkish equivalents.) This body is composed

almost entirely of politicians, who are not usually experts. The proceedings of this society must contain more absurdities than can ever have been found in the proceedings of a nominally academic body, even some of the Nazi associations. For instance, in one number the third of a page is taken up to show that the word *silindir* (steam-roller) has nothing to do with the French "cylindre", from the Greek, but is from the Turkish verb *silindirmek* (to cause to be smoothed); presumably the same word meaning a "top-hat" has the same derivation! In another paragraph it is conclusively proved that the word *atlet* (from the French "athlète") has nothing to do with the Greek who won an ἀθλον, but is from the Turkish verb *atlamak* (to jump)! and, most surprising of all, the word *sportmen* (sportsman) has no connection with one who "disports" himself, but is from the old Tartar word *sıbrmak* (to hunt)! After such arrant nonsense one may pardonably doubt whether the *Dil Kurumu* has the necessary qualifications for the performance of so delicate an operation as the reform of a language.

The main purpose of the reform is to eliminate all words of Arabic or Persian origin. Now an Englishman is peculiarly qualified to judge the effects of such a movement. English is based on an old original Anglo-Saxon, but enriched by a larger vocabulary from the languages from which the English acquired their civilization. Similarly, Turkish is based on an old original Turkish and enriched by the Arabic and Persian languages to which the Turks mainly owe their civilization.

If we tried to reform (?) our tongue by eliminating all words of Latin or Greek origin, substituting for them Anglo-Saxon words, twisted out of their present meaning, or invented words from Anglo-Saxon roots, we should arrive at something like the same result as the Turks. It is, however, only fair to point out that, whereas Latin and Greek words in English have mostly assumed an Anglicized form, the Arabic and Persian words in Turkish mostly retain their original form—though with a different pronunciation—and, moreover, are, or were, often used in their original construction with the *izafet*. Up to 1908 these words and constructions were used to such an extent that the written language could only be understood by highly educated people. Here is an example taken, not from a stilted official document nor from a high-flown poetical work, but from a comic novel, *Araba sevdası*, written in 1889 by

Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem, one of the writers who had started the modernization of Turkish literature :—

Dünya yüzünde hiç bir kimseden nail olamayacağı bu tesliyet-i hamuşâne-i merhametkâraneyi mader-i mihribanının o şule-i nazar-ı şefkatinde buldu. Mader-i mihriban ise ferzend-i hevesperestinin saika-i heveskâri-i şebap ile vaki olan herbir kusurunu affedip unuttuktan sonra varını yoğunu da selameti uğrunda feda etmek için oğlundan hiss-i nedameti müş'ir edna bir vazü nümayişe müftekir ve muntazır bulunuyordu. İşte bu nümayişi nûr-i didesinin o cılve-i nigâh-ı memnuniyetinde gördü.

("The silent sympathy, which he could get from no one else in the world, he found in the compassionate look of an affectionate mother. That affectionate mother forgave and forgot every fault due to the youthful desires of her sensual son, and only awaited the slightest gesture indicating repentance on his part to sacrifice her all for his salvation. Such a gesture she now saw in the wondrous look of pleasure given by her darling.")

Obviously something had to be done about that sort of thing, and it *was* done to such an extent that it is probable that the majority of even educated young Turks of to-day would be unable to understand the above passage. Indeed the really necessary reforms had been achieved in a natural and unforced manner by the time that the *Dil Kurumu* came on the scene. Such writers as Ömer Seyfeddin, Yakup Kadri, Halide Edip, Refik Halit, and Reşat Nuri were writing beautiful Turkish quite free from the absurdities of the preceding century and yet preserving the wealth of vocabulary provided by Arabic and Persian words.

The new reforms may be divided into three classes, with which I will deal in turn.

(a) Changes in the meaning of existing Turkish words in order to oust some Arabic word. This is the most objectionable method, because it impoverishes the language by making an existing word do double or even treble duty. A good example is the word *savaş*. *Savaş* really means a struggle, a fight; now it is *also* used to take the place of *harp* (war) and *muharebe* (battle). Similarly *barış*, which means "reconciliation", "peace between neighbours", has now to take over in addition the meaning of *sulh* (peace). *Tetkik etmek* (to examine) now becomes *incelemek*, which according to two of the greatest authorities, Samy Bey and Redhouse, is the

same as *incelmek*, and means "to become fine or slender", "to become over-refined". *Tab'etmek* (to print) becomes *basmak* (to press), so the latter already heavily overworked word has to take on another job. Here are a few more of these innovations:—

boşaltmak (to empty) for *tahliye etmek* (to evacuate); *azlık* (paucity) for *ekalliyet* (minority); *yabancı* (stranger) for *ecnebi* (foreigner); *seçim* (choice) for *intihap* (election); *sağlamak* (to render safe or secure) for *temin etmek* (to ensure); *yaymak* (to spread) for *neşretmek* (publish).

Some of the changes are merely ridiculous: *tartışma* (a weighing each other, or a trial of strength) for *münakaşa* (dispute, discussion); *bağımsızlık* (lack of ties) for *istiklal* (independence); *yorumcu* (interpreter of dreams) for "commentator" or "spokesman" (if the *Dil Kurumu* had any sense of humour, which it hasn't, I should like to think they had purposely chosen this term to apply to the "commentators" of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia).

The new names for Ministers provide some of the most ridiculous changes; I give the approximate English renderings: *Hariciye Vekili* (Foreign Minister) becomes *Dış işleri Bakanı* [Looker of Outside Affairs]; this is a peculiarly unhappy choice, for not only is *Dışisleri*, often written as one word, contrary to the rules of Turkish euphony, but also the addition of a dot to the *i*, or a slight change of sound in the vowel, would turn the gentleman into a "dentist" (*Dişisleri Bakanı* = Looker of Teeth Affairs)! *Dahiliye Vekili* becomes *İçişleri Bakanı* [Looker of Inside Affairs]; *Nafia Vekili* (Minister of Public Works) becomes *Bayındırlık Bakanı* [Looker of Prosperity]; *Ziraat Vekili* (Minister of Agriculture) becomes *Tarım Bakanı* [Looker of Agerdurkning (from the Danish for Agriculture, for *Tarım* is from a Chagatay word)]; *Maarif Vekili* (Minister of Education) becomes *Eğitim Bakanı* [Looker of Opdragging (from the Danish *opdrage*, to educate; for *eğitim* is a Turkish form from the Chagatay verb *eğitmek*, to educate)]. *Ticaret Vekili* becomes *Tecim Bakanı* [Looker of Good Management (*tecimek* is a provincial word meaning to economize, to look well after one's affairs; I regret I cannot find a corresponding English provincial word)]. And, finally, *İnhisarlar Vekili* (Minister of Monopolies) becomes *Tekel Bakanı* [Looker of Singlehand]!

(b) Invention of words from existing Turkish roots. Obviously there can be no objection to this for new inventions—all languages must do it. *Uçak* (aeroplane) from *uçmak* (to fly) is excellent and

preferable to the word previously used, the Arabic *tayyare* (a child's kite). But to oust a word which has become utterly Turkish for hundreds of years and put in its place an invented word looking like Turkish, and call this *öz Türkçe* (genuine Turkish) is palpably absurd. Why change *mektep*, which is as Turkish as "school" is English into *okul* [teachit]? Here are some more: *mevzu* (subject) becomes *konu* [underthrow]; *maznun* (suspected or accused) becomes *sanık* [supposee].

(c) Introduction of foreign words, mainly French. The substitution of foreign technical terms for the clumsy Arabic terms previously in use must be beneficial. *Oksijen* (oxygen) is clearly preferable to *müvellidülhumuza*. But it is another matter when it comes to the use of such words as *rekolte* (harvest), *rötar* (delay, lateness of a train, etc.), *metot* (method). To substitute them for words of Arabic origin is merely jumping out of the frying-pan into the fire. To use them instead of utterly Turkish words is merely a kind of intellectual snobbery, a revival of the *züppelik* which so amused and irritated an earlier generation of Turks.

I have, I think, said enough to show that there is a real danger to this rich and sonorous language. (I use the word "sonorous" purposely, for surely one of the many beauties of Turkish lies in the majestic Arabic words greatly improved by the Turks' inability to pronounce the hideous aspirates and gutturals of the original Arabic.)

It is beyond the scope of this article to go more fully into the causes underlying this desire for change. There are three main ones, which are to some extent contradictory: (a) the desire to make a complete cut with the past, to extirpate everything connected with the Ottoman Empire; (b) the desire to be considered a member of the European society of nations; (c) a narrow and rabid nationalism. To these fundamental causes must be added the fact that the *Dil Kurumu* disposes of considerable sums of money, which may have influenced some more than any sincere desire for linguistic reforms.

At present this maimed and artificial language is not used in conversation, but only in official circles and by second-rate journalists, but it is being taught in the schools and this is where the danger lies.

If such a reform of language was attempted in England it would be ridiculed to death. Now the Turk has a very strong sense of

humour, more nearly akin to the English conception of humour than that of any other foreign nation. Why then has the movement not suffered the fate that would attend a similar one in England? The answer is that schoolmasters and professors are all public servants in Turkey; and Turkey is not yet a free country, as we understand the term. Any schoolmaster or professor who publicly opposed or ridiculed the reforms would stand a good chance of losing his job or at least of being a marked man and considered as a reactionary.

Well, it is the Turks' language; let them save it! *Hayırlı olsun!*

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

A TURKISH-ENGLISH DICTIONARY. By H. C. HONY, with the advice of FAHİR İZ. (O.U.P. : Geoffrey Cumberlege.) pp. viii, 397. Price 25s.

This book is very welcome. It is a dictionary of modern Turkish literary prose, adapted to the needs of students, but sufficiently compendious to be generally useful. Mr. Hony has avoided the pitfall of universality, and by restricting his field he has achieved a good degree of completeness. He has also been thorough. His arrangement is clear, and his marking of long vowels and stress is especially commendable. I have tested the book on several standard authors, and found it adequate. The only thing which calls for severe criticism is the brief and unhappy introduction.

The last half century has been a remarkable one in Turkish life and culture. The language has passed through rapid and violent changes, changes on such a scale that the schoolboy of to-day cannot understand the books of his grandfather's boyhood. The literature of the country has also changed its character, and has developed all the forms familiar in European literatures. The novel, first tentatively introduced by means of close imitations of French models, has gradually become acclimatized and made genuinely Turkish, a real interpretation of the life and feelings of the people. These last fifty years have produced some really fine prose writers : Hüseyin Rahmî, Hüseyin Cahit, Ömer Seyfeddin, Mehmed Rauf, Refik Halid, Yakub Kadri, Reşad Nuri—these are names that have been household words in Turkey for many years. They are not the only ones by any means.

But the changes have been so rapid, especially in the last fifteen years, that a very curious thing has happened. The best known works of these men, even of those still alive, do not quite belong to the present day. They are already the literature of yesterday. It is a fine literature, and one which will be studied and used as models for a long time to come. But it can now be definitely called a "period", with an outlook, a manner, a style of its own.

It is precisely for the study of this period that Mr. Hony's

dictionary is valuable. The great work of Redhouse, though still most necessary for classical studies, is sadly out of date. The recent small dictionaries, on the other hand, are poor productions. This new dictionary provides exactly what is needed. It does not pretend to be a guide to the older learning; and it does not include the neologisms, revivals, and fabrications of the last fifteen years. And this is well, very well, for no one can say how many or which of these new words will survive. In any case very few of them have as yet established themselves in literature, and that must be the test for dictionary purposes.

Mr. Hony's chief pride is the amount of idiom his dictionary contains. Turkish is a very idiomatic language, and the lack of guidance in this particular is one of the chief troubles of all students. Here there is good provision. It was wise to seek Turkish co-operation for this part of the work; and Mr. Hony has been fortunate in his coadjutor. The collaboration of Mr. Fahir Iz is evident on every page, in the exact rendering of idiom and in the marking of stress and quantity. How valuable this is can only be appreciated by one who has had to learn these things by the painful "pack-horse way" of trial and error.

The book contains some misprints (including wrong stress-marks), which will no doubt be corrected in a second edition. It is to be hoped that the same will be done for the very misleading remarks on pronunciation in the introduction. There is also one unfortunate omission: many entries are marked with an asterisk, but the meaning attached to this sign is nowhere explained. I am informed that it is meant to indicate that a given expression is variable according to person. I should not have guessed it. But these are small things: the book is praiseworthy and will prove very useful.

C. S. MUNDY.

IBN MASKAWAIH. By KHWAJA ABDUL HAMID. pp. 130. Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1946. Rs. 2-8.

Ibn Maskawaih is best known as a historian, but two books published recently treat of him as a philosopher. Mr. Sweetman published a translation of his *al-Fawz al-Asghar* and now a study of the same book has appeared. This book is in two parts, an analysis or summary of the text and a commentary on the main ideas

which rises almost to eloquence in defence of the belief in one God, Allah. There is therefore some repetition. Ibn Maskawaih is one of the earliest writers to provide a philosophic basis for the belief in God and His prophets. The argument is familiar and is the usual blend of Aristotle and Neo-Platonism. Mr. Abdul Hamid has done his circumscribed task well, the exposition is clear, his criticism usually judicious, and he makes out the best case he can for his subject. His habit of calling his author sometimes Ibn Maskawaih and sometimes Maskawaih is annoying.

A. S. TRITTON.

SUDAN COLLOQUIAL ARABIC. By J. SPENCER TRIMMINGHAM. pp. 176. Oxford University Press, 1946.

It is a pleasure to welcome a grammar of a modern Arabic which is sound in method and a delight to handle. This book does not assume any knowledge of the classical language, the Arabic is printed in the phonetic alphabet, and the rules are allowed to grow out of the exercises. The descriptions of sounds foreign to English are as clear as the printed word can make them. The book can be recommended without reservation.

A. S. TRITTON.

HISTORY OF THE PATRIARCHS OF THE EGYPTIAN CHURCH. Vol. 2, part 1. Edited, translated, and annotated by YASSĀ 'ABD AL-MASĪḤ and O. H. E. BURMESTER. (Publications de la Société d'Archéologie Copte.) pp. 68 and 99. Cairo, 1943.

The first two parts of this history with a translation were published by Evetts in the *Patrologia Orientalia* between 1904 and 1911, and Seybold published the text of the first part in 1912. The present editors have followed Evetts in making the text conform to correct standards by removing some common peculiarities of dialect such as the use of *t* for *th*; less common forms are not corrected. The history has great interest not only for churchmen; it throws much light on the daily life of all classes of the population. In places the Arabic is difficult and practically has to be turned back into Coptic to arrive at the sense. The editor-translators are to be congratulated on what they have done and we hope that they will finish the task they have begun.

A. S. TRITTON.

Far East

FOREIGN MUD. By MAURICE COLLIS. 9 × 5½, pp. 318 + 23 illustrations and 5 maps. London, 1946. 21s.

When in 1715 the East India Company had secured most of Europe's trade with China, its merchants at Canton were subject to Eight Regulations designed to squeeze the barbarian and neutralize the dangerous presence of India's conquerors. No wives or families allowed in China, no sedan chairs, no excursions outside a small factory area, no trade except with authorized monopolists—these restrictions came to seem intolerable to the victors of Trafalgar and Waterloo, especially as Chinese officials and people connived at their evasion. A *casus belli* was wanted and found in the opium traffic, which both races conducted illegally with absurd face-saving. The dues paid by the merchants on the tea and other legitimate trade were not government revenue but Imperial perquisites, that with bribes to officials and a Yellow River relief fund, whether it flooded or not, amounted at least to £140,000 a year. But when in 1834 Parliament abolished John Company's monopoly of China trade, a monopoly whittled down by the Company's delegation of smuggling opium (or Foreign Mud) to "country" firms and by foreign competition, Whitehall regardless of the Eight Regulations sent out Lord Napier as an *official* to take the place of the Company's Select Committee. His droll reception, ludicrous floundering, and diplomatic defeat make up an absorbing story, that the author has narrated with ironical impartiality through sixty pages. The episode encouraged Peking, concerned at the export of silver, to let a Chinese patriot, Lui Tsê-hsü, hector the British merchants into surrendering opium worth about £2,000,000 for destruction and retreating from Canton first to Macao and then to live aboard ship at Hong Kong, where impatient of boycott British ships collided with a Chinese fleet and worsted it. Rather than ask the British public to foot the bill for the merchants' lost opium, Palmerston bluffed the House into approving a war that gave Britain Hong Kong, the Treaty, and the Treaty Ports and opened China to modern commerce. This is the story Mr. Maurice Collis has told so urbanely and so lucidly with delightful local colour obtained from many sources, including unpublished archives of the firm of Jardine and Matheson, gentlemen who amassed such fortunes that James Matheson, M.P., spent £574,000 on a house and estate. As the

author justly says: "It is a curious, droll, and revealing story. When all has been said, there will be found little malice, little cause for moralizing, but a great deal of humanity." The Oriental side of that humanity would have remained a half-closed book to one who had not lived in Asia.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

THE SUMA ORIENTAL OF TOMÉ PIRES AND THE BOOK OF FRANCISCO RODRIGUES. Translated from the Portuguese MS., and edited by ARMANDO CORTESÃO. 2 volumes. $9 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xcvi + 578, 44 illustrations and maps. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1944. Price £3 15s.

Tomé Pires went to the East in 1511 as "factor of drugs". After visiting Cananore, Cochin, Malacca, and Java, he was promoted in 1516 to be the first Portuguese Ambassador to China. But the Emperor refused him audience, and after being taken back from Peking to Canton, Pires was sentenced to death as a pirate. Eventually he seems to have been banished to the border-lands of the Canton Province, where he is said to have died about 1540.

Pires lived in Asia at the beginning of the brilliant century when Portugal held the gorgeous East in fee, and wrote his book *Suma Oriental* at Malacca and Cochin during 1512-15. He not only makes a noteworthy addition to our knowledge of the countries lying between Egypt and Ceylon, but provides the first reliable information about the places situated between Bengal and Japan. While his primary consideration is trade and economic conditions, he incorporates much material of importance to the historian, geographer, and ethnographer. Sometimes he errs: as when he identifies betel with "*folio Imdio*" (actually *cassia lignea*).

To summarize: Pires left the most valuable and comprehensive description of the East in his time, and his contribution to our knowledge is of the greatest historical importance.

Francisco Rodrigues, pilot and cartographer, accompanied Abreu's fleet which sailed from Malacca to the Moluccas in 1511-12, Albuquerque's fleet which entered the Red Sea for the first time in 1513, and Andrade's fleet which went from Cochin to China in 1519.

His book contains some nautical rules, two rutters (or itineraries), twenty-six maps, and a series of panoramic drawings: they date from about 1510-1514. The Red Sea rutter gives a fairly detailed account of a voyage from Kamaran to Dahlak: the China rutter

enumerates the places and distances on the route from Malacca to Canton.

The rutters are important as being the first European accounts of specific voyages in the Red Sea and the Far East.

The three maps of the countries between North-East Africa and Malacca embody much new information, while the six maps of the countries between Sumatra and the Moluccas, and the five maps of the countries between Malacca and North China are entirely new. The drawings of the islands from Alor to Java are remarkably accurate. Despite certain mistakes (e.g. the confusion of Borneo with the Celebes) Rodrigues occupies an eminent position in the history of geography. Probably the books of Pires and Rodrigues were sent to Lisbon about 1516, put on the secret list, and eventually forgotten: indeed the original of Pires' book has never been found; but certain copies existed outside the official archives, and the book is mentioned by Ramusio (1550), Machado (1752), and Santarem (c. 1850). In 1933 the distinguished Portuguese historian and geographer, Dr. Armando Cortesão, began his search for the books of Pires and Rodrigues; and after four years discovered in the Library of the Chamber of Deputies in Paris a codex, 1248 (ED, 19), which contained Rodrigues' original book and a copy of Pires' *Suma Oriental*. In 1937 Dr. Cortesão consented to edit these books for the Hakluyt Society, the result being the present handsome volumes. English readers are fortunate to be favoured with a *magnum opus* containing the Portuguese text, an admirable translation, and all Rodrigues' maps: in addition the editor has supplied a copious introduction, a detailed and erudite commentary, some excellent sketch-plans, and a useful list of early maps. Occasionally, however, Homer nods, and there are many slips in Malay identifications and one bad one in philology.

Most regrettably war-time compelled the reduction of the editorial work by nearly one-half.

One hazards the following suggestions: (1) p. 107 and elsewhere, "*oraquas*" more probably refers to areca-palms than to arrack; (2) p. 136, "*Çelâguym*" perhaps represents SELAT GELAM; (3) p. 148, "*arcat*" may be ASAHAN; (4) p. 236, the "animal like a hare" is more likely a mouse-deer (*pelandok*) than a Muntjack deer; (5) p. 260, "*Cinyojum*" probably means SUNGAI UJONG; (6) p. 301, "*Param*" seems more likely to be (GUNONG) BANANG than (PULAU) PADANG.

J. V. MILLS.

India

1. EARLY HISTORY OF THE VAIṢṆAVA FAITH AND MOVEMENT IN BENGAL, from Sanskrit and Bengali sources. By SUSHIL KUMAR DE, M.A. (Calcutta), D.Lit. (London). pp. iv, 536. Calcutta : General Printers and Publishers, 1942.
2. CULTURAL HISTORY FROM THE VĀYU PURĀṆA. By DEVENDRA-KUMAR RAJARAM PATIL. (Deccan College Dissertation Series, 2.) pp. xvii, 348. Poona : Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, 1946.
3. ŚATAKA-TRAYAM OF BHARTṚHARI. The Southern Archetype of the Three Centuries of Epigrams ascribed to Bhartṛhari, for the first time critically edited by D. D. KOSAMBI . . . with an anonymous Sanskrit commentary edited by Pt. K. V. KRISHNA-MOORTHY SHARMA. (Bhāratīya-vidyā Series, no. 9.) pp. 13, iv ; 176, vi. Bombay : Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1946.
4. THE VĪRABHĀNUDAYA-KĀVYAM OF MĀDHAVA. Text and translation by Mr. K. K. LELE and Pt. ANANT SHASTRĪ UPADHYAYA with critical analysis by Dr. HIRANANDA SHASTRĪ. pp. i, i, 28, 142, 50, i, viii, 1 plate. Lucknow : Newal Kishor Press, 1938 (?).
5. UNIVERSITY OF MYSORE. ORIENTAL LIBRARY PUBLICATIONS. SANSKRIT SERIES. Nos. 80-4, 87. Mysore, 1940-5.

1. The "Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement" studied in this admirable work is not Vaiṣṇavism in general but that particular phase of it in Bengal which began with the activity of Viśvambhara of Navadvīpa—better known by his religious name Caitanya—who was born in 1486 and died some forty-seven years later. Dr. De's survey extends no further than the period covered by the life of the Master and the work of his immediate followers. But this in itself is a vast field in which Dr. De's ripe scholarship finds ample scope. He shows that this particular facet of the movement of *bhakti* or intense erotically coloured devotion to Kṛṣṇa was apparently established in Bengal by Mādhavendra Purī, probably the spiritual grandfather of Caitanya, and the latter adopted it and fired it with the intense force of his electric personality. Its philosophical basis was the form of monistic Vedānta conveyed in Śrīdhara's commentary on the Bhāgavata-purāṇa, but without his doctrine of *māyā*. Caitanya himself, "tutto serafico in ardore," gave little attention to philosophical systematization or to the organization of his sect : as Dr. De remarks (p. 83), "the significance of Caitanya's teaching lies . . . in the reality and force of his inner

spiritual experience, which gave him an extraordinary power over the minds of men." It was mainly the ecstatic experiences won by him in his worship of Kṛṣṇa as the Supreme Lord which guided his followers in establishing themselves as a distinct Church, and on the basis of these data of emotion the Six Gosvāmīs of Vṛndāvana, the Church Fathers of the community, constructed a reasoned system of theology. Hence it is not surprising that for a long time in the early days of the movement there was a considerable difference between the tradition of the community in Bengal and the doctrines of the Gosvāmīs of Vṛndāvana: the former was inspired by the memory of the Master's vivid personality, while the latter were evolved by scholarly theologians living at some distance of time and place from those influences, and were not accepted by the community as a whole until several generations had passed.

Though the Caitanya-cult enriched the treasury of Hindu thought with no completely new ideas, it was immensely effective in reviving and to a considerable extent readjusting ancient doctrines, while it brought forth a prodigiously fertile crop of devotional lyrics and other sorts of religious literature. All that went to make this stirring movement—the men, their preachings and teachings, their rites and literature, both Sanskrit and Bengali—is discussed by Dr. De in a perfectly impartial spirit and with profound *connaissance de cause* and scholarly judgment. It is a masterly work: I doubt whether future writers will be able to make any material improvement upon it by way of correction or addition.

2. The Vāyu is one of the oldest, perhaps the oldest, of extant Purāṇas, and hence Mr. Patil's attempt to produce a classified analysis of its contents as documents of Hindu culture is timely. He presents its main data under the heads of (1) social organization, (2) woman and marriage, (3) political institutions, (4) religion, (5) chronology, (6) towns, villages, and housing, (7) dress, ornament, food, and drink, (8) music and dancing, (9) war and weapons, (10) flora and fauna, with appendices on (a) names of places and tribes, and (b) holy places. His general conclusion is that the historical contents of the Vāyu may be divided into (a) archaic survivals "coeval in point of time and contents with the similar material found in the Vedic Literature", and not later in date than c. 500 B.C., (b) ancient material of the Purāṇa, belonging to approximately the same period as the early Dharma-sūtras, the

oldest Buddhist and Jain canonical books, Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (!), Manu, and the older parts of the Mahābhārata, none of it being later than about the beginning of our era, and (c) accretions, mostly not later than about A.D. 500. Probably this view of the case is in the main not very far from the truth, though differences of opinion must arise over details, such as the precise value of some of the bases of this chronology. Withal, the book is a useful digest of information, and deserves a welcome.

3. The tradition of the manuscripts of Bhartṛhari's three Śatakas seems to point to two recensions, a Northern and a Southern ; and Mr. Kosambi seeks to investigate these separately in order to determine, as far as may be possible, the original text whence both are derived. Here we have the results of his study of the Southern recension, based upon a detailed collation of twenty-two manuscripts and a gathering of some materials from several others. The task has been executed with industry and skill. It has been made more difficult by the nature of the text : within the limits of each Śataka the order of the stanzas has often been changed owing to the caprice of editors or scribes, who also have often made additions, and hence the manuscripts show a somewhat bewildering variety in these respects. As regards verbal differences, though they are fairly numerous, they are not of great intrinsic importance. Mr. Kosambi well deserves our thanks for his zeal in carrying through a scholarly labour that is certainly useful, if unexciting.

4. The Virabhānūdaya is a poem in which Mādhava, son of Abhayacandra, a poet claiming to belong to the Kaurava family, sings in twelve cantos of Sanskrit *ślokas* of moderate merit the praises of Vira-bhānu (Bīrbhān), a well known Baghela king of Rewa, and of the latter's ancestors and his son Rāmacandra. The data supplied by this work do not add greatly to our knowledge of the history of the period, but they are worth having, and thanks are due to the editors and to Dr. Hirananda Sastri for his interesting analysis.

5. It is heartening to see the progress of this excellent series, which publishes in good style at moderate prices valuable Sanskrit writings representative of very various schools of thought. No. 80 is the third volume of the great Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's Advaita-siddhi in exposition of monistic idealism, with the commentary

Guru-candrikā of Brahmānanda Sarasvatī, carrying the work on to the end of the first *pariccheda*; the editor is S. Narayanasvami Sastri (pp. iii, 238, i: price Rs. 2.4.0). In No. 81 we have the second volume of Tattva-muktā-kalāpa, a metrical statement of Śrī-vaiṣṇava doctrine by the famous Venkaṭanātha Vedāntācārya, with his own commentary Sarvārtha-siddhi, together with a gloss on the latter styled Bhāva-prakāśa by Abhinava Raṅganātha Brahma-tantra Parakāla-yati and another gloss on the same styled Ānanda-dāyini by Nṛsiṃha-deva, the editor being S. Narasimhachar (pp. xxv, 516: Rs. 3). A very different school of doctrine is represented in No. 82, which is the fourth volume of Vyāsa-tīrtha's Tarka-tāṇḍava, a series of essays vigorously championing Madhva's dualism, with the commentary Nyāya-dīpa of Rāghavendra-tīrtha; the editor is V. Madhvachar (pp. vii, 390: Rs. 2.4.0.). No. 83 is a product of the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā: it is Ahobala Sūri's Vākya-rtha-ratna, a summary in Sanskrit verse of Prābhākara doctrines on Vedic ritual, with the author's own commentary Suvarṇa-mudrikā, edited by R. Rama Sastri (pp. ii, xlvi, i, 88: Rs. 1). Yet another branch of Indian thought figures in No. 84, which contains Umā-svātī's Tattvārtha-sūtra, that evergreen summary of Jainism, this time published with a commentary styled Sukha-bodha by Bhāskara-nandī, the editor being A. Santiraja Sastri, who has added a preface on the book, its author, its commentator, and other Jain divines (pp. xlviii, ii, 256: Rs. 2.4.0). Lastly we hail in No. 87 that palmary work of Vedic ritualism the Śrauta-sūtra of Āpastamba, with the ancient and important *bhāṣya* of Dhūrta-svāmī and the *vṛtti* of Kauśika Rāma Agnicit; this volume, covering *prāśnas* 1-5, is edited with a long introduction by S. Narasimhachar (pp. cxxxvi, 659: Rs. 4).

L. D. BARNETT.

AM I MY BROTHER'S KEEPER? By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

7½ × 5. pp. xiii + 110. New York: The John Day Company.

Western civilization with the "monstrous inhumanity" of its industrialism, the "proselytizing fury" of white missionaries of religion, trade, and government, the spread to Asia of Europe's fallacious belief in literacy and progress, the ideas of René Guénon, the world's need to recapture the calm and happiness of the "backward" East, and "the Balinese dancer in her rapt ecstasy" as "a product of the Philosophia Perennis"; such are the topics of

JRAS.

these burning and provocative pages. "Propaganda," the author remarks, "is out of the question as between gentlemen," and for scholars his work would carry more weight if the blackness of the West were not set against the light of such an idealized Asia. Like M. Guénon, Dr. Coomaraswamy was apt to distort or neglect history for his purpose. Long before Europeans reached Asia, India, to use his own phrase, had "spoiled" the primitive men of south-east Asia by introducing to them the alphabets and written literature he condemns, brutal codes of law in place of mild custom, a tyrannical system of divine kings in lieu of popular elected chiefs, the human sacrifices of tantric Hinduism, the iconoclastic intolerance of medieval Islam, the greed of international trade and the economic curse of monopolies; fortunately there were then no machine-made goods with which she could flood the East. These sins of India in no way condone those of the white man, but research must take note of them in any effort to discover if the East is more likely than the West to build a brave new world.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

PESHAWAR PAST AND PRESENT. By S. M. JAFFAR. pp. 172 + xii.
 $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$. Peshawar: S. Muhammad Sadiq Khan.

This useful little book gives a brief but clear account of historical places at or near Peshawar. The remains and relics of Buddhist times and the surviving specimens of the art of Gandhara have great interest. The buildings erected during the Brahmanic, Muslim, Sikh, and British administrations, or their remains, have comparatively slight historical or artistic importance, mainly because of the disturbed conditions endemic in the neighbourhood throughout the centuries. The book indicates the wide field for archaeological research that still remains to be worked.

PATRICK CADELL.

CASTE IN INDIA. By J. H. HUTTON. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 279 + viii.
 Cambridge University Press. 18s.

No one is better qualified than Dr. Hutton to deal with a subject which, in spite of the thousands of books already written about it, continues to invite speculation as to its origins, and as to its relations with the problems of the future. As an institution it is confined to India, whatever analogies may be found elsewhere to many of its

usages. No one will disagree with the view that it has had a stabilizing effect by bringing a unified system into a population of widely differing races and clashing social systems. The question for the future is whether the system, rigid in the main though not without possibility of accretion, promotion, and relegation, will retain its stabilizing power in rapidly changing conditions. Dealing with the origins of the system, Dr. Hutton shows that most of its elements existed in pre-Aryan India, and were not due to the "varna" of the Aryans, greatly though it was affected by them. The system in its present form was indeed due to the collision between the pre-Aryan and Aryan cultures, and the necessity for uniting them even though this involved a change from the matrilinear system of at least many of the Dravidian peoples to the patrilinear system of the Aryans. From this combination, and the consequent reactions, probably arose such institutions as the purdah system and the adoption of child marriage which have been so generally, but on the whole so erroneously, ascribed to the Muslim invasions.

No one can speak with any certainty on the future of the caste system. That it retains much of its prestige is proved by the anxiety of many castes to raise themselves in the social scale though promotion generally involves the adoption of restrictions, such as the prohibition of widow re-marriage. On the other hand there are many factors which might be expected to weaken caste influence. Among these are the greater liberty obtained by women, the increased freedom of travel, the desuetude of unpleasant penalties for breaches of caste rules, and generally the slackening of caste control among the higher educated classes. As the author points out, Mr. Gandhi was put out of caste by a section of his community without apparent detriment to his position. The weakening, amounting in some cases to the disappearance, of the functional caste would appear likely to diminish the influence of castes as a whole, unless indeed the Trade Unions themselves become caste-minded.

Some guidance may, perhaps, be gained from recent experience in the armed services, though Dr. Hutton does not refer to them. There has undoubtedly been some gain at the expense of caste, especially through commensality, whereby many varying castes of Hindus feed with each other and with adherents of other religions. It remains, however, the case that men of the Exterior Classes are not included in these common messes. Many members of these classes used formerly to be enlisted in ordinary units; but even the

exigencies of the recent war have permitted only of their being taken into special formations of their own caste fellows, which are unlikely to be maintained in time of peace. If this experience is applicable to the general picture the principle of untouchability would appear likely to endure as the vital criterion.

Dr. Hutton has included two long appendices, taken with little change from his Report on the Census of 1931, which deal with the relation of Hinduism to the Exterior Castes and to the Primitive Tribes. Interesting though these are, changes, especially those connected with the political situation, have made them already somewhat out of date, and they are also, perhaps, too connected with one part of India only. The whole book, however, is an authoritative exposition of the caste system which will have lasting value.

PATRICK CADELL.

THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF INDIA, 1600-1800. By RADHAKAMAL MUDHERJEE. 9½ × 6, pp. xxiii + 195. Longmans Green and Co. Price not stated.

This study, dealing especially with the external trade of India, depends largely on two propositions; that India had been the Mistress of the Indian Seas, and that she was in the seventeenth century the industrial workshop of the world. The first position was, the author suggests, destroyed by the aggressiveness, if not the piracy, of the Western nations, and the second by the fiscal restraints imposed on imports into England from India. As for the first point, apart from the carrying maritime trade having been largely, if not chiefly, in the hands of Arabs and Chinese, the maritime States of India were never able to provide a naval force sufficient to check piracy, still less to entitle India to be regarded as ruling the sea. While before 1600 the Portuguese naval policy had been indistinguishable from piracy, the sea power of that nation had practically ceased very soon after that date. The English and Dutch Companies, so far from encouraging piracy, were concerned to put it down. The author nowhere mentions the Asiatic pirates of the western seas who, from the Malabar to the Arabian coasts, preyed upon Indian shipping. Further, he does not note that, though there was much Indian shipping during the period of his survey, Indian merchants often preferred the safer

and cheaper service rendered by English and Dutch shipping, while Indian-owned ships employed in an increasing degree navigators and steersmen of these nationalities. It is, perhaps, in pursuance of this theory that the author suggests the notion of the British conquest of India being unintentional is mistaken, and that the policy of the Company was one of territorial aggression from the outset. His suggestion is supported by the curious assertion that the English wrested strategic sites from the Portuguese at Surat in 1612. Elsewhere he states correctly that the English did not occupy Surat till 1759, and then at the request of the inhabitants. The author himself shows that, except for Child's brief and disastrous effort, there was no aggressive policy till near the end of the eighteenth century.

As regards the destruction of the Indian export trade by fiscal duties in England, it might have been noted that this trade had been organized and vastly increased by the European Companies and was, to a large extent, a luxury trade. The policy of Protection which brought it to an end has been followed, with greater or less reluctance, by every country, including India in the present century. The loss caused by the closing of the foreign market was in India increased to the point of disaster by internal misrule and disorder which destroyed inland commerce.

India's social history has, as the author says, still to be written. If this volume does not go far to fill the gap, it is a careful study and supplies much material that is of value to the student.

P. R. CADELL.

RAJPUT STUDIES. By A. C. BANERJEE. 7 × 5, pp. 340 + ii.
Calcutta: A. Mukherjee and Bros. Rs. 7.

This useful collection of papers deals with the Rajput States of Udaipur, Jaipur, and Jodhpur from the earliest medieval period to the time when the *Pax Britannica* saved them from extinction. The author has made excellent use of unpublished records. The studies have also a present-day value. They show the disorder that prevailed before the East India Company intervened, with great reluctance, at the repeated request of the States themselves. The author writes with admirable detachment.

P. R. CADELL.

GOOD-BYE INDIA. By SIR HENRY SHARP, C.S.I., C.I.E. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp. 239. Geoffrey Cumberledge. Oxford University Press, 1946.

The writer of this little book had a varied and distinguished official life in the Educational Service in India, beginning in the Central Provinces and ending some twenty years ago at the summit of his profession. His book is not, however, an autobiography (there is scarcely a date in it), but a collection of reminiscences of the official India of his time. To those whose experience of India covers a similar period, the perusal of this book will induce a pleasing aggravation of the nostalgic virus and no reader should overlook the charming little introductory poem in which the writer sets out his own experience of the same ailment. In this work we are not in the realm of history and indeed it is likely that our historical pundits would feel the author's division of the Civil Service tradition into the eras of the Nabobs, the Satraps, and the Puritans as more picturesque than historical. Nor has the book, as a whole, any political tendency, although there is not a little thoughtful and kindly reference to the constitutional and educational questions of the day. Its charm lies in the succession of sketches which it gives of the experiences of an official of the last generation who saw a great deal of India and was often engaged in work which lay outside his own departmental boundaries.

There is an air of literary culture throughout the book and the numerous anecdotes are recounted with skill and humour. A large portion of the writer's reminiscences has relation to the outdoor life which he was able to enjoy in the course of his official duties, illustrating the vigour and endurance required for his numerous experiences of both small and big game shooting. His power of observation and his excellent memory have stood him in good stead in his accounts of life in the jungle. To all this and to the memory of old friends among both Indians and Europeans he has now said "Good-bye", and with an eye to the India of the future he points out that by "Good-bye" he means also "God be with you".

E. D. MACLAGAN.

FOLK-SONGS OF CHATTISGARH. By VERRIER ELWIN, with a Comment by W. G. ARCHER. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. lxi-466. Oxford University Press, 1946. Rs. 15.

The quickest way to get to the heart of a people, who possess no literature, is through their folk-lore expressed in story, song and ballad. But a sympathetic translator is needed; one, if possible, who is both scholar and poet. The people of Chattisgarh are fortunate in finding such an interpreter in Dr. Verrier Elwin, who is well known for his contributions to social anthropology.

The songs deal with all aspects of country life in this North Indian region—birth, death, marriage, married life, farm life, hunting and fishing, dancing, magic. There are nine long ballads and tales. The origin and technique of the poems are explained in an appendix. There is a fine bibliography, a short glossary, and a sufficient index.

Mr. W. G. Archer, I.C.S., in a well-informed Comment of 38 pages, discusses the method and style of the translations, comparing them with the Chinese translations of Arthur Waley and adducing parallels in treatment from Restoration and modern English poetry. Both he and Verrier Elwin himself, in his Introduction, refer to the importance of symbolism in this type of poetry, which is occasionally so pronounced that the uninitiated reader will almost inevitably miss the allusions. A poem becomes a kind of metaphor-parable, in which a description of nature has an inner erotic meaning, rich material for the Freudian psychologist. We may quote a poem on a nubile girl:—

“The red flower
Has blossomed
The lake
Has broken its banks
The lemons
Have ripened
The tender wheat-cake
Is ready for dinner.”

Sometimes, however, the poems are plain epigrams:—

“My arms are covered with my husband’s bangles
But the two lovely silver bracelets were given by my lover.”

OR

“The Inspector
What a good thing he is transferred.
For a pice
He took fowls and eggs

And who could buy cloth in the bazaar
For a pice
But the Inspector ? ”

Such emphasis has been laid upon verse technique in this volume that the question : “ Why are these compositions regarded as verse and not prose ? ” cannot be avoided. Ordinarily, except in the Doha or Dadaria types, the line consists of from three to seven words. The rhythmic break, which marks the end of the line, is indicated by (i) catch-words, such as *re*, *ho*, *re dos* (O friend), (ii) refrains (repetition of phrases at regular intervals), (iii) parallelisms (repetition of ideas), (iv) antitheses, (v) rhyme (syllabic identity), (vi) assonance (identity of consonant *ghaṛṇa/bolna*, or vowel, *pāgi*, *khādi*) or any combination of these. The translator has employed the first four devices only, and in place of rhyme or assonance has used other devices, such as inversion, thus—

“ She puts oil on her head and takes her great mirror,
With an ivory comb she combs her lovely hair.”

or

“ As she stands up, her jacket can be seen
Of finest cloth and tied with seven knots.”

Anyone who cares to pursue the analysis can find other devices.

The ballads are for the most part in rhythmic prose. Some of them must have existed originally in verse. This is certainly true of the story of Dḥola, which appears in a somewhat different recension in the sixteenth century Marwari poem Dholā Māru rā dūhā, which probably reached Chattisgarh through the agency of the Ahirs, who still favour the Dūhā (doha), so popular in Apabhramśa.

The book contains much for all types of readers and when the original text of the songs promised by Shamrao Hivale appears, it is hoped with a full phonological commentary, there will be little left to expect.

ALFRED MASTER.

ŚRĪ PRATĀPASIMHA MAHĀRĀJA RĀJYĀBHISHEKA GRANTHAMĀLĀ,
Memoir No. II. Important Inscriptions from the Baroda
State, Vol. I. Ed. by A. S. GADRE. pp. 112, pl. 16. Baroda,
1943. Rs. 6.2.0.

Here are twelve inscriptions selected from 250 copies for the Baroda State. They are all in Sanskrit, except No. XI, which is in Marathi, and they cover the period from A.D. 200 to 1734.

No. I has been published previously, and the plate is quite illegible. The notes, which confirm the date Ś. 122 and collect the opinions of various scholars, are, however, useful. Incidentally, they recall a very early use of the word *laṣṭi* in Sanskrit, falling between the Pāli *yaṭṭhi* of the Saṃyukta Nikāya and *laṭṭhi* of the Milinda-pañha, which never obtained currency in the classical language.

No. II is the "crest-jewel" of the collection. It is a copper-plate grant by Taralasvāmin of the Kaṭaccuri family of Lāṭadeśa, found in 1940. Mr. Gadre was inspired to connect it with the well-known Saṅkheḍa grant, hitherto considered to have been issued by a Gurjara king, and found that the two plates are parts of one set. Another inscription is thus now added to the meagre seven, which we now possess, relating to the Western Kaṭaccuris (Traikūṭakas), and the earliest date of the Lāṭa or Broach Gurjaras becomes 628 instead of A.D. 595, which was difficult to reconcile with the defeat of the Kaṭaccuri Buddha by the Western Cālukya Maṅgaliśa (c. A.D. 609). The revised date suggests the rise of the Gurjara dynasty under the ægis of the Western Cālukyas on the ashes of the Traikūṭakas.

Nos. III and IV are of the Valabhi dynasty of which a large number of plates exists. No. V is a plate of Karka, an early Gujarat Rāṣṭrakūṭa, dated Ś. 739. Nos. VI and VII are of the Koṅkaṇa Śilāhāra Aparajitadeva, dated Ś. 915. No. VIII is a stone inscription from Gandevi (Nāvasārī) of Ś. 964 of the Goa Kadamba king Saṣṭha II and is the first Kadamba inscription to be found in Gujarat. No. IX is an unique plate of the Solankī Mūlarāja II, V.S. 1232, which confirms his date of accession as stated in the Vicāraśreṇī. No. X consists of two *praśastis* of the time of the Vāghela Visaladeva of Gujarat. No. XI is a Marathi inscription in the Oṽi metre of Dāmājirāo II of Baroda, V.S. 1790. No. XII is the earliest Sanskrit inscription of the Gaekwars (the Gāyakavāḍa-vaṃśa of No. XI, v. 46).

The publication, otherwise of a high standard, is disfigured by irregularities of type and careless proof-correction.

ALFRED MASTER.

THE CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE HINDUS. By CHANDRA CHAKRABERTY. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$. pp. 375. Calcutta, 1946.

This is not in any real sense a history, nor does it give anything approaching an adequate account of Hindu culture. It is simply an ill-digested mass of facts and fictions, livened at intervals by gratuitous displays of a superficial acquaintance with modern biology and the physical sciences. Numerous outworn theories, either already proved wrong or discarded by scholars for want of evidence, are glibly repeated, and a few fresh ones of the same sort added. Thus, the Bhrgus are Phrygians; the Yakṣas, Yueh-chi; the Kāṭhas, the Germanic Catti and the Hittites; the Aitareyas, the Etruscans; the Guptas, Copts. The standard of intelligence shown may be gauged from the translation of *śvedajā* by *Infusoria*, and the standard of accuracy from the statement that we owe the Taittirīya Saṃhitā to the Kāṭhas. Further examples could be culled from almost every page. The author does very poor service to the reputation of Indian scholarship by permitting this type of work to be published.

JOHN BROUGH.

THE "KALIVARJYAS" OR PROHIBITIONS IN THE "KALI" AGE. THEIR ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION AND THEIR PRESENT LEGAL BEARING. By BATUKNATH BHATTACHARYA. pp. 212. University of Calcutta, 1943.

The practices proscribed for the present degenerate age by certain of the Hindu law-books have not hitherto been investigated in detail, and Mr. Bhattacharya has performed a useful service in collecting here the chief texts on the subject. The greater part of the book is taken up with detailed accounts of the fifty-five points in question, and only in the last forty pages is their interpretation discussed.

The chief point of legal interest is whether the practices are forbidden or merely deprecated. In the case of many of the purely religious points, it is difficult to see any reason for their prohibition, and the natural interpretation is that in the Kali age it is permissible, though not obligatory, to omit the Agnihotra or *saṃnyāsa*. This is the view of the *Nityācāra-paddhati* (quoted on p. 202), which argues that the negative prescription of what is elsewhere commanded indicates an option. This is dismissed by the author,

who has not however observed that the argument is as old as the *Mīmāṃsā-sūtras* (x, 8, 1-4). The same passage would have thrown light on the comments of Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa (p. 200), where a most misleading translation is given, *niṣedha* being rendered "declaration of sinfulness"; and *paryudāsa* "unqualified prohibition, invalidation". The *Mīmāṃsā* interpretation is: in view of the positive injunction elsewhere, the negative injunction cannot be a prohibition (*niṣedha*), since, if it were, there would be a direct contradiction of equally authoritative texts, or else it might be imagined that an option (*vikalpa*) was intended, and an option is also improper. Therefore, it is not a prohibition, but an exception (*paryudāsa*) to the positive rule, under specific circumstances. In the present case, the Kali era is the special condition for the exception. All this may seem somewhat pedantic, but it is on just such points that lawsuits are apt to turn, and it is a pity that the author has not given a clearer account here. It is doubtful, however, whether this has more than academic interest, since, whatever the writers of the digests may have intended, most of the Kalivarjya points have not in fact ceased to be practised, and many of them have now been removed from the sphere of practical law by direct legislation within the last century.

The most unsatisfactory part of the work is that dealing with the religious practices. In places the English is almost unintelligible, and a good deal of it gives the impression of rough notes placed together without proper revision or co-ordination. Several important passages are quoted without references, or else inadequate references, such as Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda. A *sattra* is surprisingly defined as "a sacrificial session consisting of a hundred Agniṣṭomas, Ukthya, and Atirātras". The Kauṣītaki version of the Śunaḥśepha legend is attributed to the Brāhmaṇa instead of the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra. The Cāndrāyana penance is said to be performed daily. Nala, possessed by Kali personified, is said to have won at dice instead of lost. On p. 127: "Gautama . . . is generally regarded as posterior to Āpastamba"; but on p. 166: "Gautama whose work is held to be the earliest of the extant Dharmasūtras."

There are a considerable number of errors and inconsistencies in transliteration, such as *abadāna*, *bapā*, *upajācita*, *Jājñavalkya*, *saṃgnapana*, *satra*; *Kṣātrīyas* and *Vaiśyas*; *Vasiṣṭha* alongside *Vaṣiṣṭha*, and even *Vaṣiṣṭha*; *puttrikā-putra*, *Nāmbudris*.

JOHN BROUGH.

Islam

LIFE BETWEEN DEATH AND RESURRECTION ACCORDING TO ISLAM.

By R. EKLUND. pp. 188. Uppsala, 1941.

What Muhammad said about a future life was simple and definite, but his followers got into difficulties when they considered his teaching in detail and tried to make a system of it. The problem was: What happened between death and the Last Judgment? One answer was that souls were in *barzakh*; a word which occurs in the Koran with the meaning barrier. *Barzakh* was variously held to be a place, a period of time, and a state. The author sets out all the ideas exhaustively, including the fantasies of Ahmad ibn al-Mubārak, of Sijilmasa († A.D. 1713), fantasies which are outside the usual run of Muslim ideas. The term *barzakh* was also used by the mystics. The English, in which the book is written, is seldom unintelligible, but does not make for easy reading and it is often journalese of the worst type. The description of Bīr Barhūt suggests that the author does not always understand English.

A. S. TRITTON.

MEDIEVAL ISLAM. By G. E. VON GRUNEBaum. (An Oriental Institute Essay.) pp. 365, maps 2. University of Chicago Press, 1946. 20s.

All who are interested in Islam should read this book. It is not a history but an attempt to portray the fundamentals of Muslim mentality. Even where it traverses familiar ground it has something fresh to say. Interesting is the way Greek and Muslim are set side by side, as, for instance, when it is shown that Greek motifs and ways of telling a story are found in the *Arabian Nights*. The author gives an answer to the question why the Arabs never developed the novel. Arabic is the language of anecdote; a single event is told in detail with sharp outlines so that the scene lives, but the Arabs never developed the power of depicting character. Consequently a man in a story never rose above a bundle of qualities to become a personality. A religious man obeyed the laws of God and was charitable, brave, thought no evil, and so on, but they could not combine these into a character. Further, their idea of life was static; the good man was he who most nearly approached the ideal of the Companions; their eyes were turned on the past not

forwards, and so Islam fell behind and has nothing to teach the modern world. The reader is not always convinced but he will be stirred up to refute the opinions which he does not approve. It is a pity that someone was not asked to prune the English.

A. S. TRITTON.

Miscellaneous

OS PORTUGUESES E O MAR DAS INDÍAS. By JULIO GONÇALVES.
pp. vi + 787. Lisboa : Livraria Luso-Espanhola, 1947.

This somewhat unhandy volume (of a short, squat *format* unfortunately popular with Portuguese and Brazilian publishers) is divided into two roughly equal halves, the first of which deals with the history of continental India prior to the arrival of the Portuguese, and the second with their activities in the Indian Ocean down to 1550. A cursory perusal did not disclose anything new or particularly interesting for English readers ; but the book deserves a wider public in Portugal, where there is a natural tendency to ignore Asiatic sources, and to undervalue the scope and extent of the Hindu and Buddhist contribution to mankind.

C. R. BOXER.

NOTES OF THE HALF YEAR

Presentation of the Society's Gold Medal to Sir Richard Winstedt

On 9th October, in the presence of a large and distinguished company, the President, the Earl of Scarbrough, presented the Society's Triennial Gold Medal, which, by the unanimous vote of the Council, had been awarded to Sir Richard Winstedt. In making the presentation Lord Scarbrough said :—

“ It is a great pleasure to me to present the Society's Gold Medal to Sir Richard Winstedt, and every member of our Society will feel a special delight that this Medal has been awarded to our former President and present Director.

“ Since the days of Sir Stamford Raffles, the founder of Singapore, a tradition of Malay studies has developed, and a number of distinguished men have made their contributions to it, but no one more notably than Sir Richard.

“ Sir Richard Winstedt entered the Malayan Civil Service in 1902, and started research soon after his arrival in the Malay States. His first work was to take down a number of Malay folk-tales. He next wrote a Malay grammar, partly because he wanted to learn it. That work led him to be described by a Malay Raja as the talented originator of our grammar. After a surfeit of grammars and dictionaries, he turned to magic, and was the first to deal with it comparatively, differentiating between the primitive, the Hindu, and the Islamic strains. Next history attracted him, and after writing the history of three Malay States, where he had served, he produced the first scientific history of the Malay Peninsula, from prehistoric times, describing the Hindu, Portuguese, and Dutch periods, as well as the British. Finally he turned to Islamic studies, and wrote a chapter on Malay Muhammadanism in *Islam To-day*.

“ I understand that at the moment he has two new works in the press and six books being reprinted. One of those new works is a Cultural History of the Malays, their beliefs, their law, their social, political, and economic systems, and their arts and crafts. I understand that he has two more books in hand.

"His work has been recognized by several learned societies. He is a Fellow of the British Academy, an honorary member of the Royal Batavian Society, and a corresponding member of the Royal Institute of Netherlands-India, and of the American Institute for South-East Asia.

"Probably, the work which has most interested other orientalist is his Literature of Malay History, with its chapters on Hindu, Javanese, and Islamic influences. His essay on Malay verse has been translated into Dutch, French, and German.

"One further point I must mention. Former Gold Medallists have included Sir G. A. Grierson, Professors H. A. Giles, A. H. Sayce, D. S. Margoliouth, R. A. Nicholson, F. W. Thomas, Sir Denison Ross, and Sir John Marshall. But this is the first time on which a retired member of the Colonial Civil Service has received this honour. Sir Richard's research was additional to the tasks of administration and education which marked his distinguished career in Malaya. His is an example, not rare in the story of the British Empire, of an administrator, whose devotion to the people among whom he served has led him to master their culture and to become an interpreter of their way of life."

Sir Richard Winstedt replied that he was greatly honoured by the Council's award and grateful to the President for finding time to present the medal on the eve of a long journey. Perhaps the Council's choice was not altogether due to his merits. *Omne ignotum pro magnifico*, and comparatively few people knew anything of the Malays and their language. When he had compiled his first Malay Reader, and sent it to a great University Press, that Press had consulted the late Sir Charles Elliot, who was deemed omniscient. Sir Charles wrote to him, and inquired if the book merited a favourable report! Research had been a solace and a passion during the thirty-four years he had spent as a civil servant in Malaya. But whether it made for promotion was doubtful. In an African colony a civil servant had answered a query why he did not study the language and habits of the African by the retort that what he studied was the language and habits of the natives of Whitehall.

ANNIVERSARY GENERAL MEETING

15th May, 1947

The Earl of Scarbrough, President, in the Chair, regretted that six Members died during the year :—

Sir Aziz ul-Huque, Sir Cecil Clementi, Professor H. H. Dodwell, Dr. Evans-Cross, Messrs. M. S. Ramaswami Aiyer and E. S. M. Perowne, and Miss A. Getty.

Four resigned :—

Captain T. A. Shurlock, Messrs. Roy Brewer and M. L. Sherman, and Miss A. Beckingsale.

Nine Honorary Fellows were elected :—

Dr. Shripad K. Belvalkar, Professor Emile Benveniste, F. Edgerton, Dr. R. Heine-Geldern, I. Y. Krachkovsky, Professor G. Morgenstierne, Gaston Wiet, Ch'en Ying K'io, Dr. B. C. Law.

Seventy-three new members took up their election :—

Raja Sahib of Tekkali ; Raja Bahadur Jagadab Sri Madhusudan Harischandan, Sahibzada Mir M. Abbasi, Syed Safiru'd-din Bashir Ahmad ; Professors Abdus-Sadeque, A. L. I. Khatib, A. N. Kurat, A. V. Marakueff, F. H. Newman, H. G. Rawlinson, and Hari Prasad Shastri ; Drs. D. R. Annamalai, A. M. Bhattacharjee, M. Emms, E. E. Evans-Pritchard, E. Jackh, A. K. Sinha, and A. Upham Pope ; Major D. S. Rice ; Rev. J. P. Ferguson ; Messrs. R. M. Abdullah, P. B. Aghan, R. J. Alfred, A. B. Bakht, R. J. Bailey, W. C. Benedict, B. C. Bhattacharyya, T. G. Bibby, D. Brahmachari Sastri, R. Brinker, C. C. Brown, J. D. Burit, H. C. A. Chaudhury, A. E. Coope, V. d'Alton, G. Dhar, R. A. D. Forrest, G. D. Freeman, K. G. Gupta, S. B. S. Gupta, M. C. Hay, P. M. Holt, J. Irwin, K. N. Kaul, N. N. Maas, D. G. Mahajan, D. C. McDermot, Ashiq Mohammed, M. H. Mohamed Mydin, C. Pasco, E. G. S. Payne, E. M. F. Payne, R. Pieris, M. S. Prakasa Rao, M. G. S. Sankara Rao, P. H. Rofe, H. Chandra Roy, K. B. Roy, M. V. Krishna Rao, M. J. Russell, A. J. Saunders, H. S. Sarupria, S. Seshappa, Amar Singh, M. M. Singh, R. M. Smith, A. P. J. Vidwan, Muni R. P. Vijayaji, H. J. J. Winter, P. S. Yog, A. Azeez Zia.

Lectures.

Dr. H. G. Quaritch-Wales lectured on the Indian Chinese and Prehistoric factors in the building of the classic civilizations of South-East Asia.

Preparations for removal and the actual removal to new premises made further lectures impossible.

Universities' Essay Prize.—There were no candidates.

Society's Publications, 1946-7.—Owing to printing difficulties the only work published was a monograph on *The Magadhas*, by Dr. B. C. Law.

Donations.—The Society is deeply indebted to Dr. Bimala Churn Law for the munificent gift of £1,400 to furnish two rooms of the new Library, which will be named after him.

His Grace the Duke of Westminster remitted £50 of the pre-war rent of the former premises.

Officers and Members of Council.—The following were elected : as Vice-Presidents, Professor H. W. Bailey, Sir Patrick R. Cadell, R. E. Enthoven, Esq. ; as Hon. Officers, Dr. L. D. Barnett, C.B., F.B.A., D.Litt., M.A., Librarian ; Professor A. J. Arberry, D.Litt., M.A., Secretary ; J. H. Lindsay, Esq., Treasurer ; as Ordinary Members of Council, Sir Richard Burn, C.S.I., F.R.A.S.B., M.A., Sir Atul C. Chatterjee, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., M.A., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., D. H. Hansford, Esq., M.A., Dr. R. S. le May, Ph.D., A. D. Waley, Esq., M.A., LL.D., F.B.A.

The Council recorded with deep regret the death of Mr. E. S. M. Perowne, who for so many years gave the Society devoted service as Honorary Treasurer.

A list of the Society's Members was sent to the press.

The Society was again indebted to Mr. D. H. Bramall, M.B.E., T.D., of Messrs. T. L. Wilson and Co., its honorary solicitor, especially for the onerous work involved by the disposal of its former and the signing of its new lease.

Messrs. Price, Waterhouse and Co. were elected Professional Auditors, and Mr. R. E. Enthoven and Major C. R. Boxer Honorary Auditors.

The President called on the Director to comment on the Report, after which the Hon. Treasurer (Mr. J. H. Lindsay) said :—

These accounts represent our financial position on 31st December, 1946, when we had overdrawn our General Account at the Bank by over £8,000. For we had paid out £8,000 for the lease of these

new premises and had incurred considerable expenditure on our removal before the receipt of the purchase money for the lease of 74 Grosvenor Street, £25,000. At the last General Meeting Sir Richard Winstedt told you that negotiations for the sale of the present premises and the acquisition of another house might leave the Society with a clear profit of £12,000. We have got that £12,000 and invested it in short-term loans to keep our capital intact till the general financial position becomes clearer. The rent we pay for these premises is considerably less than what was paid for 74 Grosvenor Street, while the rent we receive from our tenants here will be considerably more than we got from Grosvenor Street.

The expenditure on our removal can be dealt with more properly in the accounts for 1947. We do not yet know what the repairs to the Queen Anne Street house will cost, nor do we know how much the Ministry of Works will contribute to the repairs of this house, which had been requisitioned for the French Red Cross. Anyhow we shall have, in addition to a much better house, a definite increase in our income.

If we now turn to the normal items of our annual account, you will be glad to hear that our subscriptions are still rising, the best test of the healthy state of the Society. As long as we can thus attract new members we can face the future with confidence. We are very grateful to the British Academy for the continuation of their grant of £200 a year and to the Government of India for its grant of £283 10s., not forgetting the other smaller grants from the Federated Malay States, the Straits Settlements, and Hong Kong. As this Society plays an important part in publicizing and explaining Indian culture to the world, we may reasonably hope that India will continue a grant after political changes have been made. For many years we have shown an outstanding liability for the proceeds of the compounded subscriptions, but next year I hope to show this as a separate investment.

The comparatively heavy expenditure on repairs and renewals was due to the discovery of dry rot in 74 Grosvenor Street. The item "Other General Expenditure" consists almost wholly of bank charges and payments for new furniture. Other figures of expenditure are more or less normal.

Mr. Enthoven, in moving the adoption of the Report, recalled how when the great architect Wren died, his son was consulted on the erection of an appropriate memorial. His reply was to point

to St. Paul's Cathedral, with the words : " Si monumentum requiris circumspecte." For the benefit of those in the audience who were not members of the Royal Asiatic Society, he would translate the quotation : " If you wish to know the achievements of Sir Richard Winstedt and Mrs. Davis for the last year, look round at these new premises." The move from Grosvenor Street, including the rearrangement of the Library, had been no light task. He asked the meeting to indicate their approval of the work done by passing unanimously the Annual Report.

Dr. le May said that to second the motion was not only a pleasure but a privilege. He wished to add his congratulations to Sir Richard Winstedt, our Director, and to Mrs. Davis, our Secretary, for their success in obtaining these excellent new premises, and his tribute for their performance of all the work entailed. The Society had passed through a very difficult time during the war, but it was encouraging to hear that during the first full year of peace no less than seventy-three new members had been elected, and he felt that with the splendid Library and the opportunities the present house offers to scholars the Society should look forward to a long and successful life.

The Report was unanimously adopted.

The President then reviewed the events of the year, saying :—

" To-day we combine two events, the 125th Annual Meeting of the Society and the opening of our new premises. Perhaps some reminder of the past peregrinations of the Society may be appropriate.

" During the 124 years of its existence the Society has had five homes. Its connection with the Thatched House, St. James's Street, ended with the inaugural meeting in 1823 and the first premises leased by the Council were 14 Grafton Street, for which a rent of £225 was paid, a large sum for those days, but nearly half of it was defrayed by an annual grant of 100 guineas from the East India Company. In 1848 the Company doubled the grant to enable the Society to move to 5 New Burlington Street, where it remained for 21 years. It then moved to 22 Albemarle Street, which remained its home until 1920, and there I am told its growing library filled even the stairs. From Albemarle Street the Society moved to the premises in Grosvenor Street, which we all remember. It was not a bad house though the war had made us shabby and impoverished there, but I feel sure you will agree that it was neither

as spacious nor as suitable for our large library as this house in Queen Anne Street.

"Just before the war the Council was anxious to make some money out of the unexpired portion of the Grosvenor Street lease, and actually inspected possible houses in South Kensington and elsewhere. But someone, it appears, thought of Ovid exiled among barbarians on the shore of the Black Sea and there was 'doubt, hesitation, and pain' at the thought of quitting Mayfair. The hesitation was fortunate, for the war came in time to prevent the sale of the Grosvenor Street lease for less than half the sum of £25,000 which was obtained last year.

"The Society has had to pay £8,000 for the 60 years' lease of these premises and a further sum for the cost of removal and repairs; but the transaction shows the very satisfactory credit balance of over £12,000 invested in trustee securities. The interest on that sum, the lower rent of this fine house, and the letting of two flats, which is now accomplished, will increase our annual income by nearly £600. The Society is greatly indebted to Sir Richard Winstedt, who has been the prime mover in this most beneficial transaction. It is one more of the many services which he has rendered, and continues to render to the Society.

"We must not, however, look upon this fortunate improvement in our income as a reason for relaxing our efforts on behalf of the Society. There are other factors with which we have to reckon. Our staff is still below strength. And, though we have raised the salaries of our existing staff since the end of the war, further increases are likely to be necessary. The cost of repairs and decoration will be higher than before the war. The cost of printing our *Journal* has more than doubled. Finally, after this year it is possible that an independent India may not continue the annual grant hitherto drawn through the India Office. All these factors make it extremely fortunate that the post-war shortage of business premises brought the Society an unprecedented windfall—unusual for those who shelter under banyan trees. But we should remember that the days of our austerity are not over and that if they are to be brought to an end new members must be attracted to our ranks.

"I have talked of austerity, but you will see that the Library's two best rooms, on the first floor, are furnished in no austere manner. We have been able to do this because of a munificent gift to the Society from Dr. Bimala Churn Law, of Calcutta, whose

name will be associated with those rooms as long as the Society shall last. Dr. Law is distinguished both as a philanthropist and a scholar. He has written more than forty learned works on subjects connected with India, its ancient history, its geography and ethnology, Buddhism and Jainism. Dr. Law is at the moment President of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and his studies have caused him to view our activities with such benevolence that he has given us the sum of £1,400 for furnishing the two rooms that are to bear his name. This is not the first of his benefactions to this Society, for in 1936 he endowed a fund for the publication of original works on Buddhism, Jainism, and the history and geography of India up to the end of the thirteenth century. I am very glad that Sir Richard Winstedt, during his recent visit to India, found the opportunity to call on Dr. Law and thank him personally on behalf of the Society for his generous benefaction.

"Both Dr. Law and the Society are indebted to Mrs. Davis, our Secretary, for the taste which she has brought to the furnishing of those two rooms, and the Society is further indebted to her for her energy in acquiring furniture and equipment for these large premises. In these difficult days this is no ordinary feat, and we are most grateful to her for what she has been able to do. We are also grateful to Mrs. Herson for bringing order so speedily into the library after the upheaval of its removal. Before I leave the subject of our requisitions and our needs, I would point out to anyone of philanthropic bent who may wish us well that, if our library is to continue to maintain its standard, endowment is needed for the purchase of foreign books and, when binders are once more available, for the binding of books and periodicals.

"I would conclude with a few words on the aims of our Society and its place in the world. We are bound to have them in mind at this time when the relationship between Great Britain and India is about to undergo a great change that will affect our relationship with the whole of Asia. As political ties are loosened the question presents itself what will be the nature of the links between East and West? There seems one answer at least to that question: cultural links will become of greater importance and will have a more essential part to play than before. No Society in Great Britain has for so long a time maintained links of this kind with India and the rest of Asia as the Royal Asiatic Society, and as we peer into the future, where much is hidden beneath uncertainty,

THE SOCIETY'S RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
BALANCE AT 1ST JANUARY, 1946	108	3	3
SUBSCRIPTIONS—									
Fellows	333	18	0
Non-Resident Members	370	4	0
Student and Miscellaneous	16	16	11
Fellow Compounders	91	7	6
Non-Resident Compounders	69	12	0
								881	18 5
GRANTS—									
British Academy	200	0	0
Government of Federated Malay States	20	0	0
Government of Hong Kong	5	0	0
Government of India	283	10	0
Government of Straits Settlements	10	0	0
								518	10 0
RENTS RECEIVED		636	16 0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—									
Subscriptions	329	3	3
Additional Copies Sold	105	5	0
Pamphlets sold	1	16	6
								436	4 9
INTEREST ON INVESTMENTS		73	16 11
SALE OF CATALOGUE		30	4 9
SALE OF CENTENARY SUPPLEMENT			6 0
COMMISSION ON SALE OF FORLONG FUND BOOKS, 1945		2	3 2
SUNDRY RECEIPTS		141	0 10
BALANCE AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1946—									
Overdrawn at Bank in General Account	8,416	13	4
Less Cash in P.O. Savings Bank		5	7
Cash in Hand		£5	19 9
								6	5 4
								8,410	8 0
							£11,239	12	1

GENERAL ACCOUNT INVESTMENTS

£1,426 1s. 10d. Local Loans 3 per cent Stock.
£777 1s. 1d. 4 per cent Funding Loan 1960-90.

NOTE

£1,581 12s. 2d. was outstanding as a liability at the end of the year, to be transferred to a separate compounded subscription account.

PAYMENTS FOR 1946

PAYMENTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
HOUSE ACCOUNT—						
Rent and Land Tax	536	14	4			
Rates, less those defrayed by Tenants	213	5	1			
Gas and Light	162	15	9			
Coal and Coke	64	0	3			
Telephone	15	15	4			
Cleaning	111	2	2			
Insurance	66	15	2			
Repairs and Renewals	116	16	2			
				1,287	4	3
LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND				30	10	6
SALARIES AND WAGES				930	17	6
PRINTING AND STATIONERY				28	13	10
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Printing	217	8	11			
Postage	6	0	0			
				223	8	11
LIBRARY EXPENDITURE				2	13	0
GENERAL POSTAGE				27	2	7
SUNDRY EXPENSES—						
Teas	16	17	8			
Lectures	8	7	6			
National Health Insurance	14	18	1			
Storage of Books	12	0	0			
Audit Fee, 1944 and 1945	10	10	0			
Bank Charges	103	2	3			
Other General Expenditure	135	0	0			
				300	15	6
PURCHASE OF LEASE OF 56 QUEEN ANNE STREET				8,000	0	0
FURNISHING				408	6	0

£11,239 12 1

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described, and hereby certify the said Abstract to be in accordance therewith.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
3 Frederick's Place,
Old Jewry, E.C. 2.

Countersigned { R. E. ENTHOVEN, Auditor for the Council.
R. S. le MAY, Auditor for the Society.

30th October, 1947.

JRAS.

LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND, 1946

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
BALANCE, 1/1/46	977	6	3	BALANCE REPRESENTED						
TRANSFER FROM GENERAL ACCOUNT	30	10	6	BY £971 17s. 3d. 3½d.						
DIVIDENDS TO BE RE-INVESTED .	34	0	2	WAR STOCK	1,005	15	9			
				CASH AT BANK	36	1	2			
								1,041	16	11
	£1,041	16	11							£1,041 16 11

SPECIAL FUNDS, 1946

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND

RECEIPTS				PAYMENTS			
BALANCE, 1/1/46	.	.	205 17 1	RENTAL OF TYPE	.	.	3 3 0
SALES	.	.	95 19 6	SUNDRIES	.	.	2 6
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT	.	.	6 0	31/12/46 BALANCE CARRIED TO	.	.	
				SUMMARY	.	.	298 17 1
			<u>£302 2 7</u>				<u>£302 2 7</u>

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY MONOGRAPH FUND

BALANCE, 1/1/46	209	17	8	BINDING 64 COPIES VOL. XIX	1	17	4
SALES	69	5	4	SUNDRIES			2
SUNDRIES	5	0	0	31/12/46 BALANCE CARRIED TO	282	3	2
				SUMMARY			
	£284	3	0				£284 3 0

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES 31st DEC., 1946

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND	298	17	1	CASH AT BANK—					
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY MONO-				On Current Account	521	0	3		
GRAPH FUND	282	3	2	On Deposit Account	60	0	0		
	<u>£581</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>				<u>£581</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>

INVESTMENTS. Nil.

TRUST FUNDS, 1946

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND

BALANCE, 1/1/46	196 11 5	POSTAGE		5 0
SALES	57 14 7	31/12/46 BALANCE CARRIED TO		
DIVIDENDS	18 0 0	SUMMARY	272 1 0	
	<u>£272 6 0</u>			<u>£272 6 0</u>

GOLD MEDAL FUND

BALANCE, 1/1/46	98	8	11	31/12/46 BALANCE CARRIED TO	103	3	11
DIVIDENDS	9	15	0	SUMMARY			
	£103	3	11		£103	3	11

UNIVERSITIES PRIZE ESSAY FUND

BALANCE, 1/1/46	205	13	2	31/12/46	BALANCE	CARRIED	TO	
DIVIDENDS	20	15	4	SUMMARY				226 13 6
	<u>£226</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>6</u>					<u>£226 13 6</u>

DR. B. C. LAW TRUST ACCOUNT

	£	s.	d.				£	s.	d.
BALANCE, 1/1/46	216	6	10	31/12/46 BALANCE CARRIED TO			229	7	3
DIVIDENDS	13	0	5	SUMMARY			229	7	3
	£229	7	3				£229	7	3

SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES, 1946

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND	272	1	0	31/12/46 CASH AT BANK ON			831	5	8
GOLD MEDAL FUND	103	3	11	CURRENT ACCOUNT					
UNIVERSITIES PRIZE ESSAY FUND	226	13	6						
DR. B. C. LAW TRUST ACCOUNT	229	7	3						
	£831	5	8				£831	5	8

TRUST FUND INVESTMENTS

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable "B" Stock (Prize Publication Fund).
 £325 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable "A" Stock (Gold Medal Fund).
 £645 11s. 2d. Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable "B" Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund).
 £40 3½% Conversion Stock 1961 ("B" account).
 Rs. 12,000 3½% Government of India Conversion Loan 1946 (Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account).

BURTON MEMORIAL FUND, 1946

BALANCE, 1/1/46	4	6	4	BALANCE—CASH AT BANK ON			5	15	8
DIVIDENDS	1	9	4	CURRENT ACCOUNT					
	£5	15	8				£5	15	8

BURTON FUND INVESTMENT

£49 0s. 10d. Local Loans 3% Stock.

JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND, 1946

BALANCE, 1/1/46	1,297	2	2	SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND						
DIVIDENDS	147	8	8	AFRICAN STUDIES	3					
SALES	142	3	9	SCHOLARSHIPS	450	0	0			
				FEES FOR 2 LECTURES	21	0	0			
				SUNDRIES	2	8	6			
								473	8	6
				FEE FOR INCOME TAX CLAIM				5	5	0
				R.A.S. 10 PER CENT COMMISSION SALES						
				1945				2	3	2
				POSTAGE					5	6
				BALANCE—CASH AT BANK						
				ON CURRENT ACCOUNT	775	12	5			
				CASH IN P.O. SAVINGS						
				BANK	330	0	0			
								1,105	12	5
	£1,586	14	7					£1,586	14	7

FORLONG FUND INVESTMENT

£1,005 14s. 7d. New South Wales 4% Inscribed Stock 1942-62.
 £1,015 16s. 8d. South Australian Government 4% Inscribed Stock 1940-60.
 £1,031 12s. 7d. 3% Savings Bonds 1960-70.
 £1,217 2s. 8d. 3% Treasury Stock.
 £700 3½% Conversion Loan 1961 ("A" account).
 £45 East India Railway Co. Annuity Class "B".
 £253 18s. 4d. 3½% War Stock ("A" account).

I have examined the above statements with the books and vouchers and hereby certify the same to be in accordance therewith. I have also had produced to me certificates in verification of the investments and Bank Balances.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor,
 3 Frederick Place,
 Old Jewry, E.C. 2.

Countersigned { R. E. ENTHOVEN, Auditor for the Council.
 R. S. le MAY, Auditor for the Society.

30th October, 1947

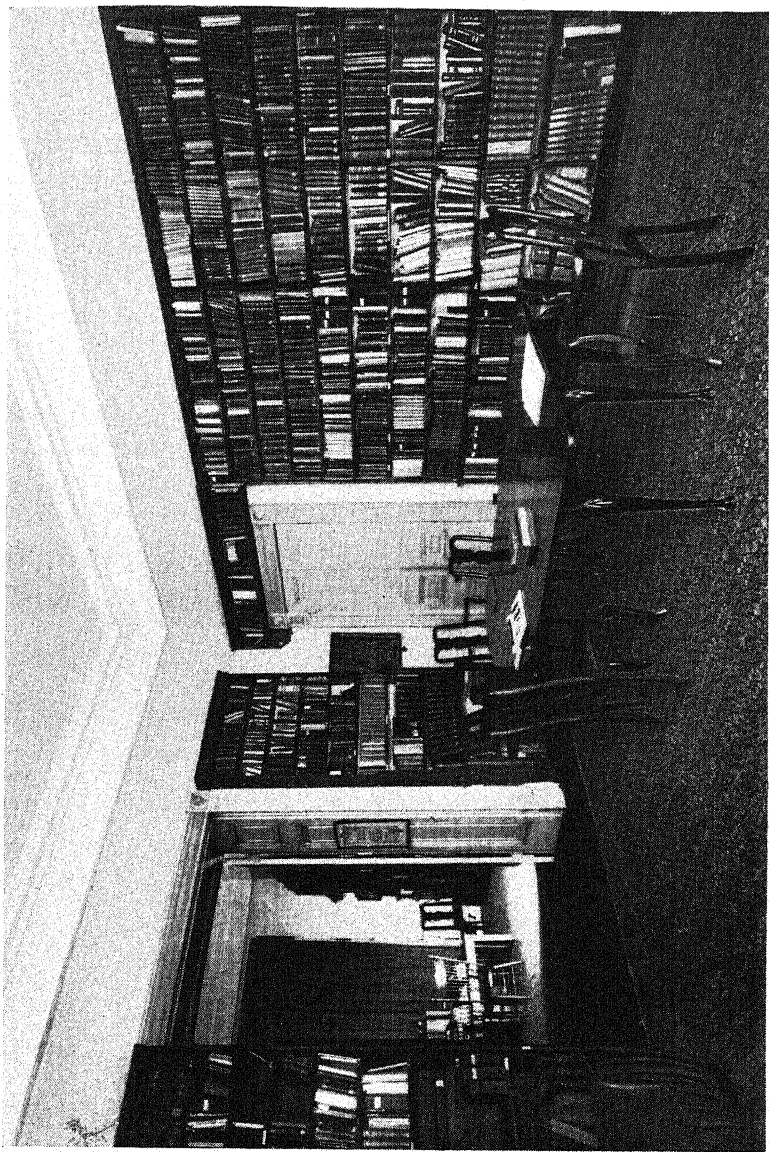
JRAS.

we can see that that role will assume a greater significance. It would be fitting if these changes of which I have spoken were accompanied by a revival of interest in Oriental studies and in Oriental culture in this country. If, as there is reason to expect, the inquiry over which I had the privilege of presiding, bears fruit in the Universities, such revival may soon begin, and on our Society will fall an increased opportunity of bringing East and West together under the humanizing influence of scholarship. I hope that as Oriental scholars increase in numbers they will be recruited by this Society to take part in its proceedings. I hope, too, that the Society may be able further to develop the interest it has displayed of recent years and introduce more and more to the West a knowledge of the arts of Asia as it has introduced a knowledge of its great literatures.

"At any rate we enter our new and larger premises at a time when fresh and greater opportunities are taking shape, and I feel confident that our Society has to-day a notable future before it."

Gift from Dr. B. C. Law

TO commemorate the munificence of Dr. Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt., President R.A.S. Bengal, Hon. Fellow R.A.S., London, who has given £1,400 for their furnishing, the two largest rooms of the Society's Library will bear his name. Born in Calcutta, Dr. Law comes of an old legal family, graduated at Calcutta in Pali and Law, gained the Sir Atutosh Mookerjee Gold Medal for research, and was a Bonerjee Research Prizeman of Lucknow University, and a Griffith prizeman of Calcutta. The author already of forty learned works on Buddhism, Jainism, Indian geography and archæology he has made innumerable gifts to the cause of charity and the promotion of learning. On his 55th birthday distinguished Orientalists dedicated to him two volumes of studies in Indology. That work contains his biography and an appreciation of his distinguished scholarship.



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 Dacca : The University.
 Delhi : Government of India Information Dept.
 Delhi : Indraprastha College.
 Delhi : The University.
 Detroit : Public Library.
 Durham, North Carolina : Duke University.
 Edinburgh : Public Library.
 Edinburgh : James Thin.
 Egmore, India : Connemara Public Library.
 Firenze (Italy) : Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale.
 Gauhati, Assam : Cotton College
 Giza : Fouad I University.
 Giza : The University.
 Glasgow : Mitchell Library.
 Glasgow : University Library.
 Göteborg : Gumperts.
 's Gravenhage : Koninlijk Bibliotheek.
 Graz : The University.
 Haifa : Youth Centre.
 Haverford, U.S.A. : College Library.
 Hyderabad : Nizam's College.
 Hyderabad : Nizam's Govt. State Library.
 Hyderabad : Osmania University College.
 Istanbul : Central University.
 Istanbul : Robert College.
 Ithaca : Cornell University Library.
 Jaipur : Maharaja's College.
 Jerusalem : Director of Antiquities.
 Johannesburg : Public Library.
 Junagadh : Archæological Society.
 Kathiawar : Archæological Survey.
 Khartoum : Gordon Memorial College.
 Kingston, U.S.A. : Queen's University Library.
 Lahore : Forman Christian College.
 Lahore : Government College.
 Lahore : Panjab Civil Secretariat.
 Lahore : Panjab Public Library.
 Lahore : Panjab University Library.
 Lahore : Panjab Religious Book Society.
 Lahore : Sardar Dyal Singh Library.
 Lenina : Gos. Pub. Bib.
 Lincoln : University of Nebraska.
 London : Athenæum Club.

London : American Embassy.
 London : B.B.C.
 London : Colonial Office.
 London : Dawson, W. and Sons.
 London : Gordon and Gotch.
 London : H.M. Stationery Office.
 London : London Library.
 London : Stechert-Hafner.
 London : Stevens and Brown.
 London : War Office M 1, 2(a).
 Lucknow : Provincial Museum.
 Lucknow : University Library.
 Lyon : Bibliothèque Centrale.
 Lyon : Université.

Madras : Connemara Public Library.
 Madras : Legislature.
 Madras : Oriental MSS. Library.
 Madras : Presidency College.
 Manchester : John Rylands Library.
 Manchester : The University.
 Melbourne : Victoria Public Library.
 Melbourne : University.
 Michigan : University.
 Minnesota : University.
 Moscow : Red. Zk. Vaprosy.
 Mysore : University.

Nagpur : University.
 Nairobi : Patwa News Agency.
 Natal : University College.
 Neuchâtel : Delachaux et Nestlé.
 New York : Metropolitan Museum.
 New York : Public Library.
 Nicosia : Director of Antiquities.

Oslo : University.
 Oxford : Blackwell and Co.
 Oxford : Griffith Library.
 Oxford : Indian Institute.

Paris : Dorbon, Lucien.
 Paris : Lamotte, E.
 Paris : Leth, André.

Paris : Bibliothèque de l'histoire de France.

Paris : Ministre des Affaires Étrangères.

Peiping : National Library.

Peiping : Tsing Hua University Library.

Philadelphia : Free Library.

Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania.

Pretoria : University Library.

Princeton : Theological Seminary.

Princeton : University Library.

Rangoon : British Council Representative.

Seattle : Washington Union Library.

Stalingrad : Bib. Tadzi.

Stockholm : Nordiska Bokhandeln.

Sydney : Public Library.

Sydney : Royal Society of New South Wales.

Szechwan : Provincial Museum.

Taschkent : Sr-As Gos. Pub. Bib.

Tasmania : State Library.

Teheran : British Legation.

Teheran : Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Toronto : University Library.

Travancore : Co-operative Stores.

Triplicane : Madras University Presidency College.

Trivandrum : Public Library.

Trivandrum : Travancore University.

Vancouver : University of British Columbia.

Veraval : Fisheries Officer.

Wuching : Ana Chung University.

